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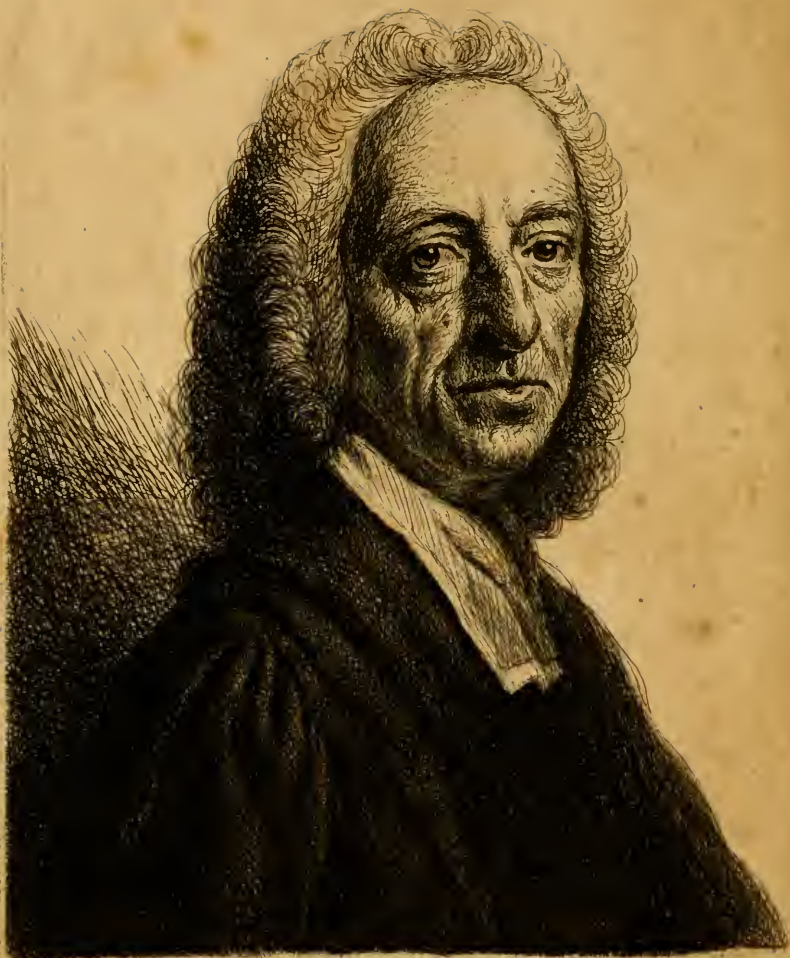
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B. Wilson fecit 1753

The Rev. Mr. William Whiston
Born 9 Decem. 1667. Died Aug. 22. 1752.

M E M O I R S

O F T H E

L I F E a n d W R I T I N G S

O F

Mr. W I L L I A M W H I S T O N .

C O N T A I N I N G ,

M E M O I R S

O F

S e v e r a l o f h i s F R I E N D S a l s o .

W R I T T E N b y H I M S E L F .

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N , C o r r e c t e d .

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat :
Ne quid veri non audeat.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. W H I S T O N and B. W H I T E , in *Fleet-street*.

M.DCC.LIII.



P R E F A C E.



THE first edition of these Memoirs, which were published by the Author himself in 1748, being entirely sold off, and the demand still continuing, it was thought proper to reprint them; not only as they contain the Author's last corrections to several of his works, but as many particulars, of an historical nature, are interwoven in these Memoirs, which deserve to be preserved and handed down to posterity. The strict integrity and sincerity of the Author, were probably the strongest motives for the favourable Reception which the publick have given to these Memoirs; and those will rather encrease, than be diminished by time. For as personal prejudices die away, the character of the writer will be more highly and justly esteemed. This edition is printed from the former very carefully, with those alterations and corrections disposed in their proper places, which the Author, upon his revisal of the work, had thrown together at the end of the former edition. But it was thought proper to omit entirely three Treats, which
were

were printed in the former edition in the body of the work, chiefly because each of them may be had separately for a small price, and also not to oblige the Purchaser to buy over again what he may already have. The *Traſts* omitted are as follows.

I. A ſerious addreſs to the Baptiſts.

II. An argument in defence of Diſſenter's Ordination.

III. Preface to the Liturgy of the church of *England*, reduced nearer the primitive ſtandard.

The pious author, full of years and good works, died after a week's illneſs, Auguſt 22, 1752, aged 84 years, 8 months and 13 days; and was buried near that excellent woman, his wife, who died in January, 1750-1, at Lyndon, in Rutland.





MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

Mr. WILLIAM WHISTON.



WILLIAM WHISTON * was born at *Norton juxta Twycrosse*, in the county of *Leicester*, upon *December 9. A. D. 1667. O. S.* My father was *Josiah Whiston*, rector of the same place, who married the daughter of *Gabriel Rosse*, the former incumbent; whose curate he had been, and was so fortunate as to succeed him, of which *Gabriel Rosse*, my grandfather, who was rector of *Norton* near fifty years, and lived to

A 2

eighty-

* The reader is to observe, that the intire histories of Mr. WHISTON's prosecution at the university of *Cambridge*; with his banishment thence; of his deprivation of the mathematic professorship there, and of the profits thereof; with the cen-

eighty-seven or eighty-eight years of age, I remember to have heard these few things only, viz. That he was under the famous *Camden*, second master of *Westminster* school; that he refused to read king *Charles's Book of Sports* on the lord's day; however, when he heard he was beheaded, he fell a weeping; and that in his very old age, when he went to bed he used to say; *I go to my bed as to my grave*. Now my father had been admitted into *Queen's college, Oxford*, tho' he did not I believe stay there long. He had been approved by *Peter Watkinson*, moderator, and seven others of the classical presbytery at *Wirksworth*, in the province of *Derby*, and ordained a preaching presbyter *June 21, 1653*, by fasting, and prayer, and imposition of hands. He was after the restoration kept in his living of *Norton* by the favour and interest of Mr. *Merrey*, his great friend of *Gopshill*, in his neighbourhood; and was instituted into that living by bishop *Sanderson*, *November 9, 1661*. He was married to Mrs. *Katherine Rosse*, *May 13, 1657*, by Mr. *Francis Skute*, a justice of peace at *Upton*; as was the practice at that time. The originals of all which instruments I have now by me. However, since there is somewhat very remarkable relating to my father, in a note I lately made upon a passage in *Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles of England*, page 473, I shall here add that note. He there sets down my father's name in a list of clergymen of the county of *Leicester*, that
address'd

sure of his notions by the convocation; and his prosecution before the court of Delegates, and its upshot are here omitted; as already at large published after his *Historical Preface*, prefixed to the first of his four Volumes of *PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED*, with some additions there; and at the end of the Vth Volume. Where the reader will find compleat accounts of them all. See also the *MEMOIRS* of Dr. *CLARK's* Life, per tot. and many other places of his writings hereafter specified.

address'd the parliament. Upon which my note was as follows.

N. B. This *Josiah Whiston* was my father, and at this time 1659, become successor to my grandfather, Mr. *Gabriel Ross*; who died *October 19. A. D. 1658*. When I as his amanuensis (for he had himself lost his sight several years before his death) read the catalogue of subscribers, he was prodigiously uneasy at his name being in it. His account to me was this: that when some apparitor or messenger came from those at the helm to obtain the subscription, he was very unwilling to comply. He said, he lived privately, and endeavoured to do his own duty without intermeddling with the affairs of state, and so earnestly desired to be excused. But the apparitor or messenger would admit of no excuse, and told him, that if he refused, his name must be put into the roll of refusers, or into his black book, to be seen by those in authority. The consequence of which my father so dreaded, that he did at last subscribe; but deeply repented it all the days of his life, and upon his death-bed also. Nay, I believe he kept the 30th of *January* [the anniversary day of humiliation for the death of king *Charles I.*] more solemnly, as a religious fast, than any other clergyman in *England*, every year till the day of his death, *A. D. 1685*. He also wrote a book, though never published, against the lawfulness of that war; which I have now by me, under his own hand, in manuscript, and a better copy of which, as I take it, the late Sir *John Harpur* had. My copy begins with this declaration, That his doubts about the lawfulness of that war began this very year 1659, and informs us, that “this manuscript was begun *January 11*, “and finished *February 19, 1665, 1666*.” His brother, Mr. *Joseph Whiston*, of *Lewes*, in *Sussex*, a very pious dissenter, that wrote several books for

infant baptism [an account of whose religious death I have now by me] had been chaplain to colonel *Harrison*, one of the regicides. To whom my father made me write long letters, to convince him of the unlawfulness of that war: (a copy of one of which letters I have still by me) but all in vain. Their differences in opinion however did not break their brotherly friendship, as appeared by his leaving what he had amongst us, his brother's children, when he died. All this I attest, *April 25, 1746*. But before I proceed to my own history, I cannot omit to mention the relations that came to my father at *Norton*, when I was but a child under ten years of age, concerning that wonderful and undeniable instance of the punishment of one *John Duncalf* of *Kings Swinford*, about thirty miles from us in *Staffordshire*; of which I well remember we had several attestations at the very time, either from eye and ear-witnesses, or those who had spoken with eye and ear-witnesses. This *John Duncalf* had cursed himself, upon his stealing a bible, and had wished, that if he stole it, his hands might rot off, before he died; which proved most true, and most affecting to the whole country and neighbourhood. A just account of which, after many years, I have very lately read; and find all things therein related as I remember I heard then at that time. The exact narrative itself, written by Mr. *Illingworth*, and the judicious sermon that accompanies it, preached by Dr. *Ford*, are now before me; and ought, in this sceptical age, to be reprinted, and recommended to all, who either deny, or doubt of the interposition of a particular divine providence sometimes, for the punishment of notorious wicked men, even in these last days. And I am, and have long been, of the great lord *Verulam's* opinion, here justly referred to by Dr. *Ford*, page 52, who takes notice of it as a defect in the historical part of

of learning, that there is not extant an impartial and well-attested *Historia Nemefios*, as he calls it; An account of the most remarkable judgments of God upon the wicked, and complains of it accordingly.

Now, since two remarkable things happened to me before, and when I went to school, which was *A. D.* 1684, I shall here relate them. The first belonged to my grandmother, Mrs. *Rosse*, who then lived upon a small estate of her own at *Ratcliffe*, three miles from us at *Norton*; but still had her coffin at our house many years. About the year 1680, we heard she was sick, and so we might have some apprehensions, that, she being of a great age, this sickness might be fatal to her: tho' I do not remember any particular tokens of her end approaching. However, at this time I had one night a melancholy dream, and thought I saw very distinctly her funeral go along by the side of her rails to *Ratcliffe* church-yard, in a solemn manner. After which I awaked, and was comforting myself, that all this was but a dream, and my grandmother might still recover. At which time I heard a lumbring noise about the place where her coffin was; and inquiring what was the matter, the answer was, that my grandmother was dead, and they were come for her coffin.

The second very remarkable thing that happened then to me, was before my going to *Tamworth* school, *A. D.* 1684. At *Whitsonide*, my mother went with me to *Swepton* (my father wanting his fight) to our neighbour and friend Dr. *Gery*, rector of that place, which was but two miles from *Norton*. He had his second son, Mr. *Gery*, then under the care of Mr. *George Antrobus*, at *Tamworth*: whither I was to go soon after the holidays were over; whilst that son of Dr. *Gery*'s was, during the holidays, at *Swepton*, with his father. With

whom I now aimed to contract an acquaintance before I went to *Tamworth*: accordingly we were that day very familiar together, and hoped to be so ever afterward. Mr. Gery, in the evening, was so complaisant as to conduct my mother and myself part of the way to *Snareston*, which lay in our way to *Norton*. At length we parted; and we went up a small ascent one way, as he went back a greater ascent the other. At which juncture a strong foreboding impression came upon me, from no foundation that I know of, that I should never see him more: which made me look backward upon him several times: tho' I endeavoured to put such a disagreeable thought out of my mind. Upon Mr. Gery's going back to school, before I was ready to go, he fell ill of the small-pox at school. This affrighted me, and made me earnestly desire to be sent to *Tamworth* immediately, that when I had once seen him alive (for I had already had the small-pox myself) the foreboding impression might be over. However, it so proved, that either my father's horses, or servants were out of the way; or some other impediment hinder'd my going so long, that he was dead before I came to school, and the other scholars had made elegies upon his death; so that, according to this my strange impression, I never did see him more. Which accident greatly affected me at that time.

Several other relations of this nature, I mean, relating to the invisible world, I have made strict inquiry about, and collected some myself in the course of my life; and have frequently been intirely satisfied of their truth and reality. But because they were not of my own original knowledge, I rather reserve them till some other sober and judicious person shall make an authentic collection of such relations of that nature, as may have sufficient vouchers, and may be both to my own satisfaction,
and

and to the public benefit ; when I shall be ready to communicate my relations to the authors of such collection.

And here it may not be amiss to take notice, how excellent a pastor of a parish my father was, even after the loss of his sight ; his great infirmities of body ; and his lameness : nay, even when, for about six weeks, his hearing was almost intirely lost also. During which times, he still continued officiating and preaching twice every Lord's-Day. He also, before his want of sight hindered him, used to go yearly to the several families in his parish, to catechise the children, and instruct, or if occasion was, to reprove the grown persons, in a free and familiar manner : and particularly, to fit the younger persons four times in the year for their first communion. Which method he also continued when he had lost his sight, with only this difference, that he sent for the several families to his own house for the same purposes. Nor was there any more than one family which refused to come. The master of which family was afterward so sensible of the good influence of such private instructions, that when I once came into that country, and, as usual, gave the parishioners of *Norton* a sermon, he lamented to me the negligence of the incumbents, after my father's death ; and complained, that since that time, they could not govern their children and servants as they did before, and would I thought have gone down on his knees, that I might have had the living, and done as he did.

My father chiefly depended on Dr. *Hammond's* Paraphrase and Notes on the *New Testament*, (who was ten years rector of that very parish of *Pensebury* in *Kent*, which I was offered about six years ago ;) which work I used to read to him, and which work was in those days the great standard of the sense of the text among the middle sort of our divines, nay,
almost

almost among all the preachers of the church of *England*; till at last *Grotius's* reputation greatly prevailed against his, and generally against that of all our other commentators. Altho' I cannot but say, that how great soever *Dr. Hammond's* reputation was with me, when I was young, and *Grotius's* and bishop *Patrick's*, &c. when I was of middle age; yet in the last thirty years, I have discovered so much greater light, by the most frequent perusal of the two or three first centuries of christianity, and by a close attention to originals, that I cannot but look upon all such commentaries as at present much less considerable. But this by the way only.

My father performed all parochial duties himself; in saying the prayers, psalms, and lessons, and preaching every Lord's Day twice, and administering both Baptism and the Lord's Supper by heart. (To which last he admitted me at fourteen years of age) excepting the office of matrimony, which he left to others. Nor did this extraordinary diligence in his function please several of his neighbouring clergy: Who, as usual, thought it to be, as it really was, a *tacit*, but severe reproof of their own negligence. As to which excellent character, I have now by me an original petition of the parishioners of *Norton* and neighbouring gentry, to the Lord Protector, before the death of Mr. *Gabriel Roffe*, his father-in-law, who was then about eighty-seven, to beg of him not to suffer Mr. *Whiston* to be taken from them, when Mr. *Roffe* should die, as they were greatly afraid he should be. Tho' I suppose the petition was never presented: the reason of which I do not know. I also remember what my father told me; that after the restoration, almost all profession of seriousness in religion would have been laughed out of countenance, under pretence of the hypocrisy of the former times, had not two very excellent

excellent and serious books, written by eminent Royalists, put some stop to it: I mean *The whole Duty of Man*; and Dr. Hammond's *Practical Catechism*: (The latter of which I sometimes read in evenings to my pupils, when I was a tutor.) I also remember his observation on Mr. Hoard's book concerning *God's Love to Mankind*, as the first that began to set aside the Calvinists unhappy scheme of election and reprobation in *England*, which till then was the current opinion of the members of the church of *England*, as it is still the doctrine of her thirty-nine articles.

I farther remember, that when the bill for the exclusion of the duke of York was in agitation, my father was so fearful of popery, that he wished such a bill were lawful: but did not think it was so. Which fear of popery had so great an influence upon him, that it had almost prevented his consent to my being bred a scholar, in order to my being a clergyman; which yet he greatly desired; for fear the popish religion should come in, and I should become a popish priest: against which religion I had then read so many protestant books, that I was in very little danger of ever embracing it.

I remember also, that some time before his death, great numbers of *French* refugees came over hither, at the revocation of the edict of Nantz, 1685. This so greatly affected him, that considering them as confessors for religion, as they really were, he preached several sermons to his small parish, to excite them to an uncommon liberality on that occasion. In particular, he told them from the pulpit, which I myself heard, that he intended himself to give them six pounds. By which means I believe the parish of *Norton* made up a greater sum than perhaps any other in the kingdom, of no larger wealth and magnitude.

Now

Now it ought here to be mentioned, that my father was acquainted with that most eminent *dissenter* and most vigilant pastor, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, and had a great esteem for him, and his practical writings : inſomuch that he cauſed me to learn his ſmall catechiſm, of xii articles by heart. And certainly, as Mr. *Baxter* put a great ſtop to the folly of the *Antinomians*, who in the times of anarchy were ready to over-ſet the majority of weak, but zealous chriſtians ; ſo, had he been as well verſed in the original writers of the two or three firſt centuries, as he was in the ſchoolmen, his parts were ſo conſiderable, that he afforded very great light to the chriſtian world. Nor indeed by the by, could I ever prevail with myſelf to preach againſt our *difſenters*, even when my principles were very different from theirs ; on account of that ſeriousneſs of piety, which I found in many of them. Nor do I at this day approve of one party of chriſtians preaching againſt another, where they are not allowed to plead for themſelves ; but think they had better all of them look into their own errors, and leave them ; and all of them unite upon the only wiſe foundation, the original ſettlements of primitive chriſtianity.

As to my father's death, it was after a moſt chriſtian manner. For when he ſaw it approaching, he ſaid, *he was not afraid to die*. And calling for us his children, he gave us all a ſolemn charge for leading a religious life, and caution'd us not to meet him at the day of judgment in an unregenerate ſtate ; and then ſolemnly prayed with us, and for us. A few hours after which, he ſlept in the Lord, the beginning of *January*, 1685-6, in the 63d year of his age, and lies buried in the chancel of *Norton* : with only this original inſcription, now worn out, *Depositum Joſiæ Whiſton, hujus Eccleſiæ Reſtoris*, and had his funeral ſermon preached by Dr. Grey.

As to my mother, *Katherine Rosse*, the youngest child of Mr. *Gabriel Rosse*, she was baptized *January 19, 1639-40*, and died *December 1, 1701*, at near 62 years of age. She was a very good, sincere, religious woman, who took great care of her husband under all his infirmities, and of us, a numerous family of children. We had been ten in all; but six sons and one daughter lived to be grown men and women. The youngest of whom, *Daniel* by name, besides myself, is still alive, and is still no more than a curate at *Somersham*, under the *Regius* Professor of Divinity of the university of *Cambridge*: his sincerity obliging him not to sign the 39 Articles for farther preferments, and never to read the *Athanasian Creed*: For refusal to read which he was once in danger of expulsion from his curacy. But by Dr. *Clarke's* interposition with a noble peer in that neighbourhood, it was prevented. He has, I believe, composed more sermons, and those not bad ones, than any other clergyman in *England*; I have heard him say, above 3000 in number. But his principal and most useful work is, his *Primitive Catechism*; which, when I had myself greatly approved and improved, I publish'd under the title of a *Presbyter of the Church of England*, and still insert it among the catalogue of my own writings, as I have long made use of it, and of it only in my *Catechetical Instructions*, instead of our other more modern compositions, which seem to me quite inferior to this, as it is wholly taken out of the *Bible*, and the *Apostolical Constitutions*: but what opinion my brother had of those *Constitutions*, I shall here give the reader in his own words, taken out of his letter to me, not dated, but written about *A. D. 1715*, as follows:

Dear

Dear Brother,

“ I having lately read over the *Constitutions* with
 “ a design of putting them in practice, as far as
 “ they appear either clear in themselves, or agree-
 “ able to the other more uncontested scriptures,
 “ desire you wou’d be pleas’d to give me your
 “ opinion touching these few difficulties, which
 “ have occur’d in the reading thereof. I do not
 “ intend hereby, as if I wou’d attempt any alte-
 “ ration in the public offices of the church, any
 “ farther than by the bare omission of those forms,
 “ which I conceive to be directly repugnant to the
 “ word of God; because indeed these very *Con-*
 “ *stitutions*, which do so directly condemn some
 “ of those forms, do at the same time strictly
 “ enjoin a conformity to the injunctions of the
 “ bishops; even of those spiritual guides, without
 “ whose direction, we of the inferiour clergy are
 “ required not to do any thing of moment, espe-
 “ cially not in the public offices of the church:
 “ my duty I conceive with respect to them, is
 “ earnestly to pray to God, which I never omit to
 “ do, That he wou’d so guide and govern the
 “ bishops and pastors of his church, that we may
 “ by their means be led into all necessary truth;
 “ particularly, which is the sincere desire of my
 “ soul, that he would be pleas’d to remove their
 “ prejudices, and open the eyes of their under-
 “ standing, that they may restore to us that ancient
 “ and truly pious form of worship contain’d in
 “ the *Constitutions*: in respect of which, in my
 “ humble opinion, especially as to that divine office
 “ of the Eucharist, nothing can be said to be either
 “ equal or comparable to it. The great plainness
 “ and easiness of the style, the piety, ardor, and
 “ even ecstacy of devotion therein contain’d, and
 “ if

“ if any thing can be yet added to it, the amazing
 “ and comprehensive view of providence through
 “ all the periods of the world therein set forth, do
 “ all bespeak it to be of divine original. There
 “ are indeed some difficulties in several parts of the
 “ *Constitution*, which highly deserve to be con-
 “ sider’d and clear’d: this however I need not
 “ scruple to affirm, that I, who have read them
 “ more with a practical than a curious eye, have
 “ not found the tenth part of the difficulties in
 “ them, either in respect of faith or practice, as I
 “ do, when I read over the other uncontested books
 “ of the *New Testament* with the like view: they
 “ being indeed more consistent with themselves,
 “ and with the other books of the *New Testament*,
 “ than the said books have ever appear’d to me to
 “ be, especially if they are consider’d without that
 “ great light and assistance, which even the *Con-*
 “ *stitutions* now give us both in explaining and re-
 “ conciling them to each other, &c.

Your loving and affectionate brother,

Daniel Whiston.

“ Pray inform me, what state Primitive Chri-
 “ stianity is in, and whether upon this great turn
 “ of affairs, there are no hopes of having its
 “ claim heard.”

I come now to myself, and these Memoirs of my
 own Life: And to give the reasons why I write it at
 all, and especially, why I write it now. The occa-
 sions of which are as follow. About the middle
 of last May, 1746, came to me in *London* an
Hanoverian scholar, that had been three quarters
 of a year in *England*, and spake *English* very well.
 His particular business with me was, to desire me to
 revise

revise and improve a short account of Mr. *Humphrey Ditton*, who, as they knew in *Germany*, had been my intimate friend. This was designed to be set before his very excellent work concerning our Saviour's *Resurrection*, which was, it seems, already translated into the *German* tongue, and was going to be there publish'd. When this short account was shewed me in *English*, I perused it, and found no small parts of it to be false; and so I was forced to write it almost all new, with this title, *Mr. Whiston's Account of Mr. Humphrey Ditton*, which I hear they will translate, and prefix to the *German* edition of that book. About a week afterward came another *Hanoverian* scholar to me, and desired me to write my own life: For he said, that also had been written in *Germany*; but, as was now found, with several falsities likewise. My answer was, that though I had been long ago put upon this, I had not hitherto inclined to do it; yet rather than go down to posterity with such falsities, perhaps I might set about it; as I did immediately.

Now I was from my youth brought up with a religious education, and under deep impressions of piety; and in the diligent study of the scriptures, and was no other than my father's amanuensis for some years. During which time, in 1682, Sir *John Moor* (who was born at my native town of *Norton*, of *Charles Moor*, husbandman, and *Cicely* his wife, and baptized there *June 11, 1620*) was become lord-mayor of *London*. Upon which, my father thought it a very fit thing for the minister and inhabitants of *Norton* to present an address of congratulation to his lordship in his high station; with a desire, that he would, in some way or other, as he pleased, remember the place of his nativity. Which proposal, when the inhabitants readily complied with, Mr. *Swinfen*, one of the secluded members of the long parliament, at my father's request,

request, drew us up a form of such an address; which I remember I copied out, and a writing-master of *Tamworth* engrossed fair for us; and Sir *Edward Abney* of *Willesley*, the father of the late Sir *Thomas Abney*, one of the justices of the *Common-Pleas*, presented it to the lord-mayor, who at first seemed to neglect it; but afterwards remember'd it effectually, when he built and liberally endowed that noble school at *Appleby*, but a mile from *Norton*, whither his relations were removed; and made *Norton* free of it, which will stand as a memorial of my father's care of *Norton*, and of the generosity of Sir *John Moor*, by that donation, as the whole country's great benefactor.

In the year 1684, I was sent by my father to *Tamworth*, to that excellent school-master Mr. *George Antrobus*, one of whose daughters I afterward married; who, with Mr. *Samuel Langley*, the vigilant pastor of that large parish, were great blessings to the same, and in intimate friendship with one another. Whether it was my want of exercise when I was my father's amanuensis, and my long attendance both morning and afternoon on my father at home, while he learned the chapters, &c. for the Lord's Days; or whether it arose from my original *Stamina vitæ*, I have been a valetudinarian, and greatly subject to the *Flatus Hypochondriaci* in various shapes all my life long, although old age, temperance, abstinence, and very great exercise, have made it a great deal easier to me now for many years. My principal comfort was from my innocence, and was always this, that whenever it pleases God to take me from this miserable and uneasy world, I verily hope and trust, I shall go into the bosom of *Abraham*, into *Paradise*, and be happier there than I can expect to be in this world.

Now, to prove what was the state of my indisposition at that time of my life, take one example. When I was become so vapoured and timorous at home, that I was ready to faint away if I did but go a few stones cast from our own house, my father observed it; and fearing the increase of that distemper, and its bad consequences in my future life, he forced me to walk with our clerk, *John Flavell*, four miles on a frosty morning, to my uncle *Simmond's* at *Atherston*; which force was yet the kindest thing he could do to me. Accordingly, when I found myself pretty well, both on my journey and return, I began to take a little more courage; and that degree of melancholy wore off, though a lesser degree of it always has, and I suppose always will, continue with me all the days of my life.

And now, finding in my note-book some account of the greatest frost that has happened all my life-time, *A. D.* 1683-4, I shall set that account down here, nearly in the words I then wrote it, though somewhat shortened.

About *November* 26, 1683, began in good earnest a very great frost; but it began to be more sensibly extraordinary about *December* 23. It was somewhat more moderate a day or two in *Christmas*, yet during the rest of those days it was excessive sharp, inasmuch that, in a single night, it froze two inches and a quarter or half. About *January* 9th or 10th, 1683-4, it began to thaw for a day or two; but about the 13th or 14th it froze again a little for some days. But from about the 21st to the 26th, it froze exceeding hard; and, on the 30th [the solemn fast, which my father then kept for the murder of king *Charles*] and 31st, it froze the hardest of all; in some places three inches or more in one night. [This account, taken and written
when

when I was but sixteen Years of age, may be compared with others taken by those at riper Years.]

Now before my going to *Tamworth* school, 1684, I had learned of my father at home so far as he could well teach me without his eye-sight; so that after a bare year and three quarters stay there, I was about the middle of the year 1686, admitted of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where I earnestly pursued my studies, and particularly the mathematicks, eight hours in a day, till the year 1693.

However, in the year 1685 there was so extraordinary a crisis of the protestant religion, as well deserves to be mentioned here: Inasmuch that, as bishop *Burnet* partly implies, but Mr. *Arthur Onslow* more distinctly informs me, it once depended on a single vote in the house of commons, whether king *James* should be permitted to employ popish officers in his army or not: which point, had he gained, there was visibly an end of the publick establishment of the protestant religion in this kingdom. It came, as I said, to a single vote; and a courtier, who was to watch every voter where the member had any employment under the king, observed one that had a regiment going to vote against the court; and seeing him, put him warmly in mind of his regiment. He made answer, "my brother died last night, and has left me 700 *l.* a year;" which single vote gained a majority, and saved the protestant religion at this time. If I might use an heathen expression in a case belonging to christianity, I would say, *Non hoc sine numine divum.*

Now during this time, and while I was undergraduate, an accident happened to me, which may deserve to be here related, for the caution and benefit of others in the like circumstances. I one summer observed, that my eyes did not see as usual, but dazzled after an aukward manner. Upon

which, I imagined this might arise only from my too much application to my studies; and I thought proper to abate of that application for a fortnight, in hopes of recovering my usual sight by walking, during that time, much abroad in the green grass and green fields; but found myself disappointed: which occasioned some terror to me, especially because of my father's loss of sight before. At this time I met with an account, either in conversation, or writing, that Mr. *Boyle* had known of a person who had newly whited the wall of his study or chamber, upon which the sun shone, and used to read in that glaring light, and thereby lost his sight for a time, till upon hanging the place where he studied with green, he recovered it again; which was exactly my own case, in a less degree, both as to the cause and the remedy. For I and my chamber-fellow had newly-whitened our room, into which almost all the afternoon the sun shone, and where I used to read. I therefore retired to my study, and hung it with green, by which means I recovered my usual sight, which, God be praised, is hardly worse now, than I perceive, at fourscore years of age, than it was in my youthful days.

During the same time, while I was an under graduate in the reign of king *James II.* and, in the year 1688, I went with the senior fellow of our college, Dr. *Nathaniel Vincent*, into *Norfolk*, on account of my health. It was near the end of *May*, and when we came thither the doctor found that he was put up to preach at the cathedral of *Norwich* upon *May 29*, the solemnity for the restoration. Now the doctor was known to be a great friend of king *James's*, and perhaps hoped to be made a bishop by him; which is sufficient for understanding his temper and principles; and this at a time when the body of the protestants, and the university in particular, were in very great dread of popery,
and

and were thereby become much more serious in religion, much more sedulous in attending divine service, and much more charitable and friendly to dissenters than formerly. [And happy, thrice happy should I have thought this unhappy nation now, if, upon our late fears of the pretender and of popery, we had been brought into the same excellent temper. But, alas! alas!] When Dr. *Vincent* found himself in these circumstances, and unprovided of a compleat sermon suitable to the occasion, he found, however, that he had some notes with him that might assist him in a new composition. He made me therefore his amanuensis for many hours, where we then were, and so compleated his sermon. His text was, *Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft*, 1 Sam. xv. 23. Which he, as is usual, understood of the rebellion of subjects against their kings; whereas it was meant, most evidently, of king *Saul's* rebellion against Almighty God, who had made him king. We then dined at the bishop's, Dr. *Lloyd's* palace, who was in great reputation at that time, and proved to be one of the nonjuring bishops afterward. The next Lord's Day, there was so excellent a sermon preached at the same cathedral, by a clergyman, to me unknown; but, by his hood, seemed to be a doctor of divinity; I now suppose it was Dr. *Prideaux*, and so directly fitted the unhappy circumstances we were then in, the imminent danger of popery and persecution, that we, the hearers, were prodigiously attentive to it, and deeply affected by it. The subject was, *The proper Preparations of a Christian for Times of Persecution*. [Almost like bishop *Sherlock's* most excellent sermon at *Salisbury* last *October*, which I have since republished, with additions of my own] yet with such caution, that, though we well knew the preacher's meaning, no handle was given for any accusation at court; only

so far we were advised, that, if danger should approach, we should hold fast to our [protestant] bishops, as the most likely way to escape the dangers we might be in. I hardly ever in my life saw such an impression made by a sermon, as was made by this, on any audience. We were then for certain in earnest, and had, I believe, very little regard to Dr. *Vincent's* court-sermon just before (as such sermons generally deserve no better): However, it soon happened, that the prince of *Orange* came to our deliverance, and the *Cambridge* mob got up, and seized Dr. *Watson*, the bishop of *St. David's*, of much the same character with Dr. *Vincent*, and threatened Dr. *Vincent* himself; who thereupon thought of saving himself by going out of the college for awhile: Accordingly, he called for me, as then his sizer, to assist him in preparing for his removal. But what may be here most worth mentioning is this, that I happened, by inadvertency, to overthrow his salt towards himself at supper: Which put him into a great concern; and made him say very solemnly, that “It would be a sad
“ completion of this omen, if they should find him
“ dead in his bed the next morning.” To which no reply was made. Yet was this so far from being accomplished, that the doctor lived a great many years after it: So vain are the pretended signals of this superstitious nature. Tho’ the affrightment they may cause in melancholy persons may be sometimes really mischievous to them.

In my note-book I find about this time the following memorandum.

Sept. 1, 1687. Dr. *Henry More* of *Christ's-College* died; and was buried by torch-light the third day, being *sunday*. His last words, as I heard, were these, or to this effect: calling his nurse, he said to her, nurse, I am going a long journey, where I shall change these for better possessions;

sessions; and so presently departed. *Sic Obijt Divinus ille Philosophus Cantabrigiensis: Extinctus amabitur idem.*

Nor can I well mention this Dr. *Henry More*, without the mention of his prodigious admirer and executor, Dr. *Davies* of *Haidon*; who was one of my best friends when I was banished the university; and whose brother-in-law, Mr. *Ward*, was also my very good friend, and Dr. *More's* great admirer, and wrote his life very well. I should digress too much, if I should go on with these two very valuable clergymen's characters, and charitable endeavours; one thing only I shall mention of Dr. *Davies*; that when so early I and another christian friend found great fault with his reading the *Athanasian* creed, of which he was no admirer, he said in excuse, that he read it only *as he would read Greek* to his *English* congregation. However, we so satisfied him of the impropriety of reading it, that he promised us to read it no more. But to return to my own history.

I was admitted of *Clare-Hall, Cambridge*, as I have already said, about the middle of 1686, while a very small part of the old college was standing: tho' I question whether any of it was standing when I came to reside, which was the *September* following. My father being now dead, we were all of us under the care of our mother the widow, whose comparative small means for seven children, made it difficult for her to support me there. And had the expences of a collegiate life been as extravagant then, as they are now come to be, or had I not lived as frugally as possible, she would not have been able to have given me my degrees; especially that of master of arts. In which the present of 5*l.* from bishop *More*, was then a kind and seasonable addition; and partly an occasion of my acceptance of the place of his

chaplain afterward. However, I find by my accounts still preserved, that tho' I was a pensioner for the last half year, yet did my whole expences for the three years and half, till my first degree inclusive, not amount to so much as 100*l.* See Dr. *Newton's* very prudent pamphlet, called, *The Expence of University Education Reduc'd.* Soon after I was made fellow of *Clare-Hall*, I set up for a tutor there. And to encourage me in that employment, archbishop *Tillotson* sent his worthy chaplain Dr. *Barker*, who afterwards publish'd his works, to the university; partly to persuade the heads of colleges to take more than ordinary care of giving *Commendamus's* for holy orders, and partly to bring his nephew Mr. *Tillotson*, to be my pupil at *Clare-Hall*. An honour and advantage this at that time of life very considerable to me, had my ill health allowed me to go on in that way in the college. But as it did not, that excellent tutor Mr. *Richard Laughton*, my bosom friend, who was then chaplain to Dr. *More*, bishop of *Norwich*, soon took my pupils, eleven in number, and I was kindly invited by the bishop to be chaplain in his stead, which I accepted of. However, soon after the archbishop had sent me his nephew, or in 1694, I waited upon him at *Lambeth*. And being at chapel there, with that design, I found bishop *Burnet* there also; who, as I was told, had business with him. So that, upon some of the family's suggestion, I went away; intending in a few days to come again; but in those few days the archbishop was dead. So very uncertain is human life! So that I did never converse with him at all: Tho' I once heard him preach upon *New-Years Day*, 1688-9, one of his excellent sermons at his lecture at *Laurence-Jury*; *Circumcision is nothing, and Uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the Commandments of God*, 1 Cor. vii. 19.

However,

However, having had occasion to mention the archbishop's chapel at *Lambeth*, give me leave to take notice how little courage both he and archbishop *Sharp* had in the rejection of that publick cursing of christianity, the *Athanasian Creed*, even as to their own cathedrals or chapels. For tho' it be well known how little they both approved this creed (see Dr. *Clarke's* Life, 1st edit. page 81. and Mr. *Emlyn's* Life, page 58.) yet does it no way appear that either of them had christian courage enough to banish it out of those places: however, since I have by me an authentic paper communicated by Dr. *Laughton*, which vindicates this excellent archbishop *Tillotson* from some false reports, which had been told of him, altho' I formerly permitted it to be publish'd, yet shall I here repeat it. It runs thus, *verbatim*.

Mr. *Denton's* Paper.

S I R,

“ I have thus long deferr'd to return an answer
 “ to your letter, about the late worthy archbishop
 “ of *Canterbury*, because I was desirous to give
 “ you as punctual an account as I could of those
 “ things laid to his charge in the libel. I have
 “ found out two persons, who, besides myself, were
 “ in *Clare-Hall* that summer, in which *Worcester*
 “ fight was, viz. Sir *Watkinson Payler*, who was
 “ a nobleman, and Mr. *James Mountain*, who
 “ was fellow of the college; and if there had been
 “ any such alteration made by him in the college
 “ graces, as the pamphlet mentions, surely some
 “ of us who daily heard it read would have known
 “ it; but those persons do profess, as I do, they
 “ never knew, or heard of any such thing done,
 “ or

“ or attempted to be done, but do believe it to be
 “ a malicious lie. I perceive I was mistaken in
 “ the time of his being made fellow, which (you
 “ say) by the buttry-books appears to be some
 “ time before *Worcester* fight, and I must believe
 “ that record before my memory at this distance
 “ of time. I was also in the college when king
 “ *Charles I.* passed by *Cambridge*, and whether
 “ *Tillotson* went to Sir *John Cuts*’s house, amongst
 “ several that did, I have forgotten, but I am
 “ pretty confident the story of his being denied
 “ the honour to kiss his majesty’s hand, is not
 “ true ; for I never heard of any such thing, which
 “ (if it had been so) I should certainly have done,
 “ if not from him, from some others, several of
 “ my acquaintance being there. It is true, that
 “ he had Dr. *Gunning*’s fellowship, but whether
 “ by a *Mandamus*, or the college election, I cannot
 “ certainly tell, but believe the latter ; for when
 “ he came into it, it was made void by the death
 “ of one who had enjoyed it several years after
 “ Dr. *Gunning* left it ; and I think none of those
 “ fellowships were fill’d after the first turn by
 “ *Mandamus*’s ; but of this I am not certain, and
 “ forgot to ask Mr. *Mountain* about it, when I
 “ was with him, who probably may remember
 “ that better than I. But I will, as soon as I have
 “ an opportunity, speak or write to him about it.
 “ As for what the pamphlet says of his governing
 “ the college, the senior fellows not daring to op-
 “ pose him, because of the interest he had with his
 “ great masters ; it is very malicious and false, for
 “ he was not of an imperious humour, but had
 “ then that sweetness of temper, which he ever after
 “ retained, and was much respected by the senior
 “ fellows : He was, indeed, in those young years,
 “ of very great parts and prudence, and the senior
 “ fellows would always have his advice in what
 “ was

“ was done about college-affairs, giving great
“ deference to his judgment: And Mr. *Mountain*
“ (who was one of those senior fellows, and as
“ much as any one for the king’s side, having
“ been some years in his army) doth, to this day,
“ retain a very great honour for him, and never
“ mentions him without a mighty respect.”

In 1693, I was become master of arts, and fellow of the college; and intended to take holy orders. Tho’ I confess the subscriptions, &c. for my degree of master of arts, seemed to me, even then, so uneasy, that I could hardly persuade myself to comply with them, and have ever since I examined into primitive christianity, absolutely refused them, both for myself, and my children. Now when I was to go to take orders, I had no mind to apply myself to a bishop, how excellent soever, who had come into the place of any who were not satisfied with the oaths to king *William* and queen *Mary*, and so had been deprived for preferring conscience to preferment; which, as I ever after resolved to do myself, so had I at the revolution written, tho’ not printed, a very small paper against the lawfulness of that oath; tho’ tenderly, and with a caution suitable to so young a man; as being then but 21 years old. However, tho’ I have a copy of that paper by me, yet, because I soon afterward more thoroughly examined that matter, and satisfied myself of the lawfulness of that oath, at least to those who had not taken an oath to king *James*, which was my case; and wrote fully for the title of princes, as not to be derived from hereditary right, but from the choice and recognition of the people in my *Scripture-Politics*, of which hereafter: I think it no way proper to insert it in this place. Yet do I too well remember, that the far greatest part of those of the
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university and clergy that then took the oaths to the government, seemed to me to take them with a doubtful conscience, if not against its dictates. Nor considering the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, they had generally been brought up in, and generally signed before, was it to be otherwise expected. Whether the opposers of such doubtful oaths and subscriptions, or those that take them while they are dissatisfied, are under the greater guilt I cannot determine. The great day must determine it.

However, I most fortunately pitch'd upon the great bishop *Lloyd*, who had been bishop of *St. Asaph* before the revolution, and was then bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, in the neighbourhood of *Tamworth*. To whom that year 1693, I brought my college testimonial, with a letter from Mr. *Langley*, minister of *Tamworth*, who was one of the best and most conscientious clergymen in that diocese, and known by the bishop to be so. When I therefore desired that his lordship, would please to give me deacon's orders on *St. Matthew's Day September 21st*, and priest's orders on the *Sunday* following, being the publick ordination; he told me, "that he knew what college testimonials were: " And that had it not been for Mr. *Langley's* Letter, I might have gone away *re infectâ*": Yet did his lordship favour me with a private ordination, to be a deacon, on the holyday: And after a most uncommon, but vastly improving examination and instruction in the cathedral beforehand, with a publick ordination into the priesthood, the next Lord's Day; dean *Addison*, the present bishop *Chandler* of *Durham*, then his lordship's chaplain, and the late bishop *Smalridge*, laid their hands on me in ordination, as presbyters. Where it will be proper to observe, that when Mr. *Langley* was once at another ordination with this bishop, he, as one
of

of the senior and most considerable presbyters then present, was desired to lay his hands upon the persons to be ordained priests, he refused so to do; unless he had examined them himself, and found them fit for that holy function, which is an example, I think, worthy the imitation of other bishops and presbyters, also in like cases.

But upon occasion of this introduction of bishop *Lloyd*, it may not be amiss to say something relating to him; which I myself know to be true. I remember to have heard him once say, that after the assassination-plot *A. D.* 1696, the odium of it was so great, that not a Jacobite would have remained in the nation, had not the extream rigour of the following act of parliament against those that would not sign an association, kept up that spirit of opposition to the government ever afterward; which puts me in mind of the like case of two of the nonjurors of *St. John's College Cambridge*; *Mr. Billers* and *Mr. Baker*, who loved their religion and their country as well as any jurors whomsoever: But having once taken an oath to king *James*, could not satisfy their consciences in breaking it, while he lived, for any consideration whatsoever. These two were long my particular acquaintance: And I well remember, that when king *James* died, which was 1701, they began to deliberate about taking the oath, and coming into the government, till the unhappy abjuration oath, which was made the same year, had such clauses as stopp'd all their farther deliberations. I wish, heartily wish that almost all our oaths were abrogated, excepting that of allegiance, and those in courts of justice; as the principal, if not the only oaths of any publick necessity or advantage; in order to clear our very wicked nation from those horrid crimes of false or needless oaths; for which the few, very few thoroughly good men in our land, have

have *long mourned*: As did the land of *Israel* formerly *mourn because of swearing*. *Jer.* xxiii. 10. Nor can I avoid taking notice of the foolish and trifling manner of giving oaths, even in our supreme courts of justice; which I have often seen myself with great wonder and dissatisfaction. A thorough correction of such gross instances of profaneness would afford me more hope of success as to our arms, from the *only giver of all victory*; and of a peaceable settlement of our publick affairs, when we pray to the Almighty, to *give peace in our time*, O Lord, than all the political measures we take for those purposes without it. And now I am speaking of this truly great and good bishop, who took me into his bosom, and loved me, as I did him most sincerely; he understood the sacred chronology, the holy scriptures, and particularly the prophecies therein contain'd, far better, I believe than any *Jew or Christian* in the world before him; and whom I have heard *thank God for being able to read the prophecies as he read history*. However, I shall now say somewhat to that common objection which unthinking people too unjustly make to the accomplishment of some of the bishop's predictions; made, not from any impulse of his own; for I have also heard him say, that *he was neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet*, but from his judicious interpretation of scripture prophecies only. 'Tis true, that both he and I at first mistook some places in the *Apocalypse*: Of which see my *Literal Accomplishment of Prophecies*, p. 90. 113. But that either of us properly mistook our grand period, of the end, or ends of the 1260 years of the persecution under *Antichrist*, as is commonly said, I utterly deny. See my *Essay on the Revelation of St. John*, 2d. Edit. p. 319, 320, 322, 323, 324. And since it is made out undeniably in that Essay, p. 198 — 221, and p. 238 — 242, that

bishop

bishop *Lloyd* truly foretold the restoration of the *Vaudois* 1690, and the end of the *Turkish* war 1698; both which he lived to see accomplished: It is very unjust to blame him for any other lesser mistakes in such matters. We all gain light by degrees; and if I, or any one else, since his days, have gained more light either in the prophecies or doctrines of the gospel, and in part also by his means, we ought not to insult over him; but to thank God Almighty for such farther illumination: Remembring that excellent saying of the great Mr. *Mede* himself, which I make the motto of my own *Essay on the Revelation*; *Illud pro certo habens, nisi in hisce talibus liberius paulo sentiendi, imo et errandi venia concedatur, ad profunda illa et latentia veritatis adyta viam nunquam patefactam iri.*

As to bishop *Lloyd*'s interlined bible, and his notes in short-hand, that vast treasure of sacred learning, I took great pains many years ago to have it decyphered, by that eminent chronologer Mr. *Marshall* of *Naunton* in *Gloucestershire*, who married a relation of the bishop's, and knew his characters well, and was willing to undertake it upon proper encouragement, which I almost undertook to procure him, from my old friend the lord *King*, when he was first made lord chancellor, and had so many prebends in his gift. But upon my application to him, I found so prodigious a change in him, such strange coldness in the matters that concerned religion, and such an earnest inclination to money and power, that I gave up my hopes quickly. Nay, indeed, I soon perceived, that he disposed of his preferments almost wholly at the request of such great men as could best support him in his high station, without regard to christianity; and I soon cast off all my former acquaintance with him. Now, by the way, if such a person as the lord *King*, who began with so much sacred learning,
and

and zeal for primitive christianity, as his first work, *The Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church*, shewed, was so soon thoroughly perverted by the love of power and money at court, what good christians will not be horribly affrighted at the desperate hazard they must run, if they venture into the temptations of a court hereafter? Such examples make me often think how wisely our blessed Saviour put in that petition into the Lord's Prayer, *Lead us not into Temptation*.

I proceed now in my own history.

After I had taken holy orders, I returned to the college, and went on with my own studies there, particularly the mathematicks, and the *Cartesian* philosophy; which was alone in vogue with us at that time. But it was not long before I, with immense pains, but no assistance, set myself, with the utmost zeal, to the study of Sir *Isaac Newton's* wonderful discoveries in his *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, one or two of which lectures I had heard him read in the publick schools, though I understood them not at all at that time. Being indeed greatly excited thereto by a paper of Dr. *Gregory's* when he was professor in *Scotland*; wherein he had given the most prodigious commendations to that work, as not only right in all things, but in a manner the effect of a plainly *divine genius*, and had already caused several of his scholars to keep *Acts*, as we call them, upon several branches of the *Newtonian* philosophy; while we at *Cambridge*, poor wretches, were ignominiously studying the fictitious hypotheses of the *Cartesian*, which Sir *Isaac Newton* had also himself done formerly, as I have heard him say. What the occasion of Sir *Isaac Newton's* leaving the *Cartesian* philosophy, and of discovering his amazing theory of gravity was, I have heard him long ago, soon
after

after my first acquaintance with him, which was 1694, thus relate, and of which Dr. *Pemberton* gives the like account, and somewhat more fully, in the preface to his explication of his philosophy : It was this. An inclination came into Sir *Isaac*'s mind to try, whether the same power did not keep the moon in her orbit, notwithstanding her projectile velocity, which he knew always tended to go along a strait line, the tangent of that orbit, which makes stones and all heavy bodies with us fall downward, and which we call *Gravity* ? Taking this postulatam, which had been thought of before, that such power might decrease in a duplicate proportion of the distances from the earth's centre. Upon Sir *Isaac*'s first trial, when he took a degree of a great circle on the earth's surface, whence a degree at the distance of the moon was to be determined also, to be 60 measured miles only, according to the gross measures then in use. He was, in some degree, disappointed, and the power that restrained the moon in her orbit, measured by the versed sines of that orbit, appeared not to be quite the same that was to be expected, had it been the power of gravity alone, by which the moon was there influenced. Upon this disappointment, which made Sir *Isaac* suspect that this power was partly that of gravity, and partly that of *Cartesius*'s vortices, he threw aside the paper of his calculation, and went to other studies. However, some time afterward, when Monsieur *Picart* had much more exactly measured the earth, and found that a degree of a great circle was $69 \frac{1}{2}$ such miles, Sir *Isaac*, in turning over some of his former papers, light upon this old imperfect calculation, and correcting his former error, discover'd that this power, at the true correct distance of the moon from the earth, not only tended to the earth's center, as did the common power of gravity with us, but was ex-

actly of the right quantity ; and that if a stone was carried up to the moon, or to 60 semidiameters of the earth, and let fall downward by its gravity, and the moon's own menstrual motion was stopt, and she was let fall by that power which before retained her in her orbit, they would exactly fall towards the same point, and with the same velocity ; which was therefore no other power than that of gravity. And since that power appear'd to extend as far as the moon, at the distance of 240000 miles, it was but natural, or rather necessary, to suppose it might reach twice, thrice, four times, &c. the same distance, with the same diminution, according to the squares of such distances perpetually. Which noble discovery proved the happy occasion of the invention of the wonderful *Newtonian* philosophy : which indeed, I look upon in an higher light than others, and as an eminent prelude and preparation to those happy *times of the restitution of all things, which God has spoken of by the mouth of all his holy prophets, since the world began*, Acts iii. 21. To which purpose see his excellent collaries relating to religion, of which hereafter. Nor can I forbear to wish, that my own most important discoveries concerning true religion, and primitive christianity, may succeed in the *second* place to his surprizing discoveries ; and may together have such a divine blessing upon them, that the *kingdoms of this world*, as I firmly expect they will, may soon become the *kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he may reign for ever and ever!* Amen. Amen.

But now, as to this wonderful man, Sir *Isaac Newton*, I mean wonderful in mathematicks, and natural philosophy, and their consequences : he is one of the greatest instances that ever was, how weak, how very weak, the greatest of mortal men may be in some things, though they be beyond
all

all men in others ; and how prodigiously inclination, even in such men, can overbear the contrary superior evidence ; nay, where they cannot wholly avoid seeing such superior evidence before them. Sir *Isaac*, in mathematicks, could sometimes see almost by intuition, even without demonstration : as was the case in that famous proposition in his *Principia*, that *all parallelograms circumscribed about the conjugate diameters of an ellipsis are equal* ; which he told Mr. *Cotes* he used before it had ever been demonstrated by any one, as it was afterward. And when he did but propose conjectures in natural philosophy, he almost always knew them to be true at the same time ; yet did this Sir *Isaac Newton* compose a *Chronology*, and wrote out 18 copies of its first and principal chapter with his own hand, but little different one from another, which proved no better than a *sagacious romance*, as I have fully proved in my confutation of it ; and which, since that confutation, no one learned person in *Europe* that I know of, has ventur'd to defend ; which thing when Mr. *Arthur Onslow* once observed to me, I told him, that though it was impossible to be defended, yet, had it not been for my confutation, it had been generally believed for seven years, upon account of the vastly great reputation of its author. And I remember, that when Mr. *Cotes* and I formerly talked with him about antient chronology, I found his notions so weak, that I expected very little from his own chronology, when it should be publish'd. Which expectation, although I used to suggest to my friends before such publication, yet would none of them believe me at that time, though they did afterward. The same Sir *Isaac Newton* did also so imperfectly understand the famous prophecy of *Daniel's* LXX weeks, and some of the prophecies in the *Revelation* of St. *John*, even

after the successful labours of the great Mr. *Mede* (whom I have heard him own as the best of its expositors) and others following him, that, upon spending once with him alone, *A. D.* 1706, about four hours on the *Apocalypse*, I could hardly assent to more than one of his expositions, *viz.* the distinction of the *iv* monarchies in prophetick language, *geographically*, as well as *chronologically*; which therefore, by his permission, I preserved in my own Essay on that book, p. 258, 259, of the first edition, and p. 296, 297, 298, of the second. Though after all it must be allowed, that Sir *Isaac Newton's* judgment did not fail him near so often in his exposition of prophecies, (unless we except that of the *Lxx* weeks, which seems to me exceeding weak) as it did in his chronology. Of which matters, see my *Confutation of his Chronology*, and *short View of his Expositions of Daniel and the Revelation*: of which hereafter.

During my being chaplain to bishop *More*, which was from 1694 to 1698, bishop *Burnet*, who was his particular friend, committed to his perusal his *Explication of the xxxix Articles of the Church of England*, in MS. who committed it to my perusal: without the least indication who was the author. Wherein I made a few corrections; which I suppose were communicated to him. but when I returned the MS. bishop *More* asked me, Whom I took to be the Author? I immediately added, that no-body could write it but bishop *Burnet*: Whom he then allowed to be the true author.

While I was also chaplain there, the same bishop *Burnet* committed to bishop *More's* perusal, a vindication of himself from the reflections bishop *Stillingfleet* had made upon him, for requiring *bonds of resignation* from those whom he made prebendaries

bendaries of *Sarum*, in case they left that diocese : in order to relinquish the *wages* when they relinquished the *work*, for which it was given : and that those that succeeded to the *work* might have the *wages* allotted to it. This vindication the bishop gave me to transcribe : which I did, with full approbation of its contents : but without taking a copy for myself, which I was not impowered to do. This paper was not then published ; because bishop *Stillingfleet* was so very great a man, that prudent people did not think it proper he should be quarrelled with. Yet when I perceived that bishop *Burnet's* son, Mr. *Thomas*, (now Mr. Justice *Burnet*) was publishing his father's life, which he has done with great reputation, I went to him, and told him, what an excellent paper his father had written, and I had transcrib'd : with my desire that if he had it he would publish it. He confessed he had a copy of it in the country ; but seemed not willing to publish it : nor has he yet published it, as it highly deserves. See the late lord *Nottingham's* letter to Dr. *Waterland*, to the like purpose, published by Dr. *Newton*, at the end of his unanswerable treatise against pluralities.

During the same time that I was chaplain to bishop *More*, somewhat happened at *Norwich* with relation to the forementioned bishop *Stillingfleet's* family ; which for a while put me into a great disorder, and is fit to be here related. The bishop had a son of *St. John's* college, *Cambridge*, by profession a physician, and one that wanted not good parts ; but of whom I had heard a very bad character as to his morals. He was sent by his father to his friend and my patron bishop *More*, for a private ordination, to capacitate him for a living. Now in such cases 'tis usually expected, that the chaplain should present the candidate for

orders to the bishop, and solemnly to declare his opinion as to his fitness for those orders which the public form of ordination requires: as I once presented the well known Mr. *Echard*, the historian, both to deacons and priests orders there; and never any one but him: whose character was unexceptionable. When I understood this, I was in great perplexity, as not intending ever to present or consent to the presentation of a bad man to holy orders: and yet being unwilling to disoblige so great a man as bishop *Stillingfleet*. I do not remember that I directly told my uneasiness to any body, unless it was guesst at from my countenance, or accidental intimations. However, archdeacon *Jeffries* soon came, and voluntarily offered to ease me of my trouble; and said, he had heard a better character of him than I had, and would examine and present him, which he did. And I have lately heard, he proved afterwards a worthy man.

It was also during my being chaplain to bishop *More*, that I published my first work, intituled, *A New Theory of the Earth, from its Original to the Consummation of all Things, wherein the Creation of the World in six Days, the Universal Deluge, and the General Conflagration; as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, are shewn to be perfectly agreeable to Reason and Philosophy.* With a large Introduction concerning the genuine nature, stile, and extent of the *Mosaick* history of the creation: this book was shewed in MS. to Dr. *Bentley*, and to Sir *Christopher Wren*, but chiefly laid before Sir *Isaac Newton* himself, on whose principles it depended, and who well approved of it: the *Epitome* of it was made by me long afterward, in order to its insertion into a foreign journal: and has been added in the 5th edition, which yet may almost be called the 7th, since the first had 1500 copies printed off at once. Whence it is plain that this work was exceeding well

well received by the learned world. As to which reception hear the great Mr. *John Lock*, who speaks thus in his Letter to Mr. *Molyneaux*, concerning this my *New Theory*, soon after it was published: dated from *Oates, Feb. 22, 1696.* — “ You
 “ desire to know what the opinion of the ingenious
 “ is concerning Mr. *Whiston*’s book. I have not
 “ heard any one of my acquaintance speak of it, but
 “ with great commendations, as I think it deserves,
 “ and truly I think he is more to be admired that
 “ he has laid down an hypothesis whereby he has
 “ explained so many wonderful, and before inexplicable things in the great changes of this globe,
 “ than that some of them should not easily go down
 “ with some men; when the whole was intirely new
 “ to all. He is one of those sort of writers that I
 “ always fancy should be most esteemed and encouraged; I am always for the builders, who
 “ bring some addition to our knowledge, or, at
 “ least, some new thing to our thoughts.”

And tho’ that great geometrician, Mr. *John Keill*, soon wrote somewhat against it twice, yet was it not till after such fair concessions as defeated, in great measure, his own pretended confutations. However, I immediately reply’d twice; and the substance of those replies is inserted in their proper places, in the later editions: tho’, indeed, the third edition had, by far, the greatest improvements: since which, I have made very few alterations that are considerable.

In the *New Theory*, fifth edition, *Lem. xii. page 13.* read 3 innermost satellities—him. And the 4th is but a small matter eccentrical.

Lem. xiii. in the figure, the letters *tt* at the focus, and *t* at the end of the axis are wanting.

Lem. xx. Corol. 4. read Saturn, and of Jupiter’s fourth planet about him. But his three innermost satellities revolving—

Lem. xxx. Scholium 2. instead of the greatest part of that *Scholium*, read thus: but as to the fixed stars, which are not represented in the figure, they are still so vastly more remote from the sun, that it is hardly certain that they are subject to any sensible parallax at all, even not to that of the annual orbit itself. For altho' the great *Hugenius*, by a new and no very improbable method of conjecturing their distance in his *Cosmotheorus*, page 137, computed, that the nearest of them could not well be at a less distance from the sun or from us than 27664 semidiameters of the *Magnus Orbis*, each of which semidiameters cannot well be much less than eighty millions of *English* statute miles, as we shall see presently. So that by this calculation, the nearest of the fixed stars must be about 2,240,784,000, of miles from us: and altho' Dr. *Hook's*, and Mr. *Flamsteed's* attempts to discover that parallax, did produce somewhat more than one third of this distance of those three stars they tried; yet has Mr. *Molyneaux's*, and Dr. *Bradley's* much nicer, and more certain observations determined such annual parallax, to be hardly more than one second, which is so very small a quantity, as to leave us in doubt, whether it is to be esteemed as at all sensible, and to make us certain that the distance of those fixed stars, which they tried cannot be less than 30,000,000,000,000 *English* miles: an amazing distance this! and were not the evidence for it undeniable, as I think it is plainly incredible! but then, as to the nature of the fixed stars. —

Lem. xxxii. Schol. instead of its latter part, read, as Sir *Isaac Newton* also did in his latter writing of this nature, I mean the *Theory of the Moon*, published by Dr. *Gregory*; and has supposed the sun's parallax, 10"; and from this hypothesis I made these and the following calculations. Which therefore cannot be far from truth; tho' at last he used
Mr.

Mr. Pound's and Mr. Bradley's mean quantity of $10\frac{1}{2}$, which would diminish the earth's distance from 81,000,000 to 77,000,000 miles, and the rest in proportion. But many of these and the following numbers may be still a small matter corrected from Dr. Smith's Opticks.

Lem. lxxxii. Add in the margin, fig. 7, after Hypoth. IV. add.

N. B. [Since my discovery of some other ancient apocryphal fragments, or remains of ancient traditions, I have determined the place of Paradise more nicely, as near to the city of *Damascus* itself. See *Authentic Records*, page 883, 884, 885.]

Hypoth. VII. 6. page 131. read, That three of the four little planets, &c.

After Hypoth. IX. 2. add.

N. B. [When I re-examined the old chronology, and found that there was about 600 years more between the flood and *Abraham*, than the masorete *Hebrew* allows, I was forced to place *Fobi*, much later than the days of *Noah*, See *Six Dissertations*, page 195——211.]

Hypoth. XI. page 222, dele the latter half of the corollary, and read thus in its stead; I formerly supposed the year before the flood to be only 360 days long, as it was in many places after the flood, and on that hypothesis have here made a calculation of the quantity of earth or water, that proceeded from the comet; which then amounted to a vast magnitude. If any prefer the testimony of *Enoch*, preserved by *Syncellus*, from *Alexander Polybister*, *Authentic Records*, page 268, 269, which assures us that the year before the flood was just 365 days; the calculation must be altered accordingly, and the quantity received from the comet will not be a 20th part of the former, or will be to that as 5h. 49m. = 349. to 5d. 5h. 49m. = 7549 only. In Corollary (3.) change the note, as directed page 452,

Solut.

Solut. LXXI. Coroll. 3. dele the latter 4 lines.

Now to return a little backward; while I was resident at *Cambridge*, which I was in all about 17 years, I observed great defects and disorders in the constitution of our college of *Clare-Hall*; as also in that of the university in general. And I accordingly drew up two papers, the one under the title of *Emendanda in Collegio*, the other of *Emendanda in Academia*; the former paper, which was of less consequence, I have not preserved, but the latter of greater consequence I have by me, and, as improved a little afterward, stood thus *Verbatim*.

Emendanda in Academia.

(See *Parsons* advice to a *Roman* catholick king of *England*.)

All old statutes to be repealed: yet so that their useful parts be taken into the new statutes; and the designs of the founders preserved, as much as may be.

The new statutes to be

Few in number:

Plain in words:

Practicable in quality:

Known by all.

No more than one civil oath, that of allegiance, to be imposed.

Penalties, and not oaths; to be securities in all other cases.

No more than one ecclesiastical subscription to be imposed, that to the original baptismal profession; with the owning the sacred authority of the books of the Old and New Testament; and this only on students in divinity.

Civil authority and courts to be put into the hands of proper persons, distinct from the university: with one appeal to the judges, and all to be governed by the common law.

Visitors

Visitors to be appointed where there are none; but still with one appeal to the judges.

Expences to be limited within certain bounds.

Particular tutors in colleges to be appointed by the master, and to unite in common for the teaching that particular science they are best acquainted with.

Public professors to consent to the master's appointment; and to be overseers to all those tutors and pupils in their own faculties; and to examine the scholars ever year, to see what proficiency they have made the foregoing year.

Rewards or privileges to be allotted to the best scholars upon such examination, and the grossly idle, ignorant, and vicious not to advance in standing, till they have made some competent proficiency.

All elections into scholarships and fellowships to be after open examination and trial, as to learning; as well as full testimony as to morals. And the times for such election to be known long beforehand, and fixed in the statutes.

Visitors may openly examine again upon complaints; and in notorious cases may alter the election.

Desert for learning and morals; *fitness* for the duty; and *cæteris paribus*, want the only qualifications for free elections, viz. in all such cases as are without propriety.

No persons to interpose to hinder the freedom of elections. And the procurers of letters from great men to be incapable.

No present possessors to be displaced; [upon a visitation of the university:] otherwise than according to their former statutes, or those of the realm.

Fellowships to be annually diminished, if not vacated, after a certain number of years; excepting [heads of colleges] tutors, and professors.

feffors. And this for the advantage of sending men into the world while they may be useful, and the procuring a quicker succession.

Heads of colleges and professors to be chosen as now; but from any college or place whatsoever, and to be approved by the bishop of the diocese where the founder lived: and in all royal foundations by the king.

Discipline to be strict, but not rigorous, prayers not to be too long, nor too early: short prayers at nine at night in winter, and ten in summer, for all to be present at.

Scholars to be encouraged to do their duty rather than forced, especially in the case of the communion, which should at least be monthly.

Fellows to be obliged to frequent the publick worship as well as the scholars.

The college servants to be instructed and catechized, either in their several parishes, or colleges, and to frequent the prayers.

Scholastic disputations about modern controversies in divinity, to be changed into lectures on the scriptures, or most primitive writers, &c.

Preachers not to meddle with state affairs farther than the gospel directly requires or allows.

No modern systems of divinity to be followed; but the original languages of the Bible, and most ancient authors, with such later helps as are necessary to the understanding of them, to be recommended.

Admissions into colleges to be better taken care of.

No uncertain systems of philosophy to be recommended; but mathematics, and experiments to be prefer'd.

None in holy orders, nor under-graduates to go to taverns or public houses at all, without particular business with strangers there, and at
early

early hours. Others to be restrained from much frequenting the same.

All under-graduates to be in their several colleges by nine at night in winter, and ten in summer: and all graduates within an hour after.

New galleries to be built at *St. Mary's* to hold all the scholars, and the colleges to go thither on Lord's-Days in order, as they do now to *Clerums*.

None to have testimonials for orders till they have studied the scriptures and antiquity for three years.

No treats for degrees to exceed a certain small sum, to be fixed for them.

All pecuniary punishments to go to the charity-schools, or poor of the parishes in *Cambridge*.

April 15, 1717.

WILL. WHISTON:

But to proceed :

While I was an under-graduate at *Cambridge*, I used to note down the heads of the sermons I heard there, with the preachers names, and the opinion I then had of their performances, which I have still by me. In which I had a peculiar regard for those preached by Mr. afterward bishop *Fleetwood*, by Mr. *Gervase Needham*, of *Emanuel* college, at *St. Mary's*, and at *Sturbridge* fair; and a single sermon of Dr. *Gouge's* (the son of that Mr. *Gouge*, the apostle of the *Welch*, whose funeral sermon was preached by archbishop *Tillotson*) before the university, at *St. Mary's*, Feb. 8, 1690.

And since I have still preserved ten religious Meditations of mine, which I wrote in the five first years of my residing in *Cambridge*, between 1686 and 1691; I shall here insert them.

M E D I T A T I O N S.

Dec. 19, 1686.

I. *Upon the scandalous Lives of many Ministers.*

I Have always look'd on such men, who have taken upon them this sacred function, and thereby not only oblig'd themselves to a good life, but also taken upon themselves the care of a multitude of other souls, of which they must give a strict account at the great day to be the most despicable and miserable of mankind, when they do not only neglect the care of those committed to them, but by their excess in drinking, or their careless, loose, and pleasurable conversation, prove the greatest temptation to all under their charge and conduct; nay, and to all others, that observe them; and do more encourage them in their sins by their ill example, yea, perhaps by one single instance of debauchery, than they can dissuade them from them by all those long harangues and discourses from the word of God, which from the pulpit they make unto them. For there is scarce any man of so dull apprehension, but will reason thus: If this man believed himself in what he preaches to us, if he really believed that there is such a great reward for the godly, and punishment for the wicked in another world; and that the word of God requires such strictness and constant carefulness in the keeping its commands, to be sure he would be more temperate in drink, and more exact and careful of his conversation, and not live as the rest of the careless world do, who scarce believe any thing in earnest of a world to come: and then, perhaps, he thinks he has reason to conclude, that, in reality, he does not believe what he declares to them, but preaches only
for

for a livelihood, as other persons follow their trades to get a subsistence. Oh how sad will the account be one day for such pastors, who instead of being an example to their flocks, of sobriety, contempt of the pleasures, riches, and honours of the world, heavenly-mindedness, self-denial, and all other christian virtues, shall be found to be one great occasion of their eternal ruin and destruction! When even their very tythes and maintenance, which was appointed for the use of persons to take care of the people's souls, shall rise up in judgment against such as received them, but never took care to discharge that duty which such plentiful provisions required at their hands!

O blessed God, if thou pleasest to lengthen out my life, and to call me to serve thee in the ministry, to which my father has devoted me, I humbly beseech thee, to make me sensible of the weight of the charge I undertake, and careful and conscientious in the discharge of the same; and especially that I may by my good example constantly edify and instruct my flock, and do my utmost diligence both to save myself and them that hear me; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

February 6, 1686.

II. *Of the Neglect of the Sabbath [or Lord's-Day.]*

I Think 'tis a true observation of some, that 'tis one of the first fruits or signs of a person's conversion, to be careful in a strict observation of the Lord's-Day, or Christian Sabbath; and then, by the rule of contraries, it must be a sign of a careless and prophane temper to disregard and slight the same: which, alas! is too common even among the learned themselves, who seem too much to have lost the sense of their duty as to the keeping holy
this

this day; and is, methinks, one of the worst pre-
sages and forebodings of some future judgment im-
pendent on this land. The eminent judge *Hales*
observes that he had long taken special notice that,
according to his seriousness or carelessness on the
sabbath, so on the week following his temporal
concerns did prosper or not; God immediately
rewarding his care of keeping holy the sabbath, by
the prosperous success of his affairs the week fol-
lowing; as you may see in his directions to his
children about the sabbath. And surely when we
by experience find the well spending of that day to
be so beneficial to our souls, too apt to be clogg'd
and taken up by the business, and cares, and
pleasures, of this world; unless we set apart some
times on purpose, wherein, withdrawing ourselves
from the world, we may have leisure and oppor-
tunity to take care of our souls, and prepare for
another world: and when we find God had ordain'd
one day in seven for his immediate service, even
immediately after the creation, which command
was never, I suppose, abrogated, but only changed,
inasmuch as the resurrection of our Saviour was such
a signal mercy as made the apostles think fit, (I sup-
pose by the direction of the spirit of God) to alter
the *Jewish* Sabbath to the christians Lord's-Day, that
we might in particular remember the resurrection of
Christ, as they did the creation of the world; I say,
when we find it both a duty and an exceeding benefit,
it may justly seem a wonder that it should be so pub-
lickly and openly profaned, even when the laws of
the land are so good and severe as to the observance
of it: and, if not repented of, I much fear God will,
by some judgment, (perhaps fire) revenge himself
on a sinful and disobedient people. For certainly
the sanctification of this day cannot consist with that
carnal ease, mirth, and rejoicing, which on this day
is now grown too common among us.

[N. B. When I wrote this, I was not appriz'd that the sabbath was never changed: but was ever to be observed in a lesser degree, as the Lord's-Day in a greater, by all christians.]

March 6, 1686-7.

III. *Of the Temptations of the Devil.*

ALTHO' there is no question but wicked men do oft, to excuse themselves, lay the fault of their evil deeds to the charge of the evil one; when it is the naughtiness of their own hearts, which love and practise sin, that is the real cause of such actions; yet it cannot, I think, in reason, be denied, but the devil has a great and secret hand, especially in some sort of temptations, and often does suggest such suspicious objections, and oftentimes blasphemous, horrid, and strange apprehensions to the mind, as are hardly so accountable any other way: for they are often, especially in melancholy persons, so contrary to the constant sentiments and belief of a man's mind, and so contrary and abhorrent from the settled temper and inclination of a person; yea, not seldom so black and dismal, so odious and ugly, and the mind is so fill'd with sad terror and amazement at the consideration of them, that they seem to own their original from nothing so fitly, as from that roaring lion, that goes about seeking whom he may devour. To this source and fountain may well be referr'd those atheistical, unbelieving, distrustful, despairing suggestions, which too many, by woful experience, have felt in themselves. Hither also may be referr'd many of those idle, vain, distracting and wandering thoughts, which are so often cast into the soul, when it is about the great duties of religion, and come in without any other appa-

rent cause, directly contrary to the desire and purpose of the person, which it ought to be our great care to avoid. Neither, perhaps, can we so well refer the extreme wickedness, debauchery, profaneness, perjury, and other the saddest instances of the depraved nature of man, which appear so visibly in the world, contrary to all the dictates of sober reason, counsel, and interest itself, to the defilement and pollution of human nature (which yet is very great) as to the violent temptations of the devil; who hurries such persons, as, by their former evil lives, have banished the good spirit from them, to such degrees of wickedness, as, otherwise, 'tis scarce credible that a reasonable creature should ever be induced to commit. Yea, tho' in the mean while they do profess to believe that they are in that way, where, in the end, they must expect everlasting damnation.

But, O gracious Father, thou lover of souls, send down thy Holy Spirit into my heart, to assist, counsel, comfort, and conduct me so safely through the wilderness of this world, that, whatsoever suggestions the devil may cast into my mind, I may abhor and cast them out again, without the least defilement by them; and, at last, may, by that Holy Spirit's guidance and assistance, be brought safe to the vision of peace. Through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

March 27, 1687, being EASTER-DAY.

IV. *Of the Reasonableness of Religion.*

WHEN the ends and designs of true religion, (such as are the glory of God, and the happiness of man, in raising those noble faculties of his soul to the highest pitch, and most worthy objects, and, even in this world, the peace and prosperity of all human societies; and as well the
welfare

welfare of the world in general, as of each person in particular;) are so apparently excellent and reasonable; and the ways and means it prescribes so conducive and proper to the attainment of the fore-mentioned ends; it must needs follow, that religion is really reasonable in itself, and every way worthy of human nature; and altho' it should lay more restraint upon the affections and actions of men, than indeed it doth, they might well be borne, in consideration of those greater benefits and advantages which it produces. But wherein lies this hardness, and what are the restraints which are so burthensome, that religion must be thought unreasonably severe in imposing them on us? is it in that temperance, sobriety, chastity, and diligence, it enjoins? the contrary vices bring such real disadvantages not seldom in this world, that might more reasonably deter a prudent man from them, tho' they were forbidden by no law; so that here is apparently not only no just cause of rejecting, but very just cause of embracing religion, which proposes so noble a reward to the exercise of those virtues, which a man would think were sufficiently rewarded by the blessings they procure in this life. Is it unreasonable for a creature to love, worship, fear, trust, serve, and obey his great and good Creator? why then is it not thought as unreasonable for a child to perform the like in a lower degree to his parents? or why do parents require and think it fitting that their offspring should be obedient to 'em, when it very much crosses their inclination? when we all have a more immediate dependance on God, than a child on his parent. Sure this unreasonableness cannot be charged on the duties of justice and charity: without which, indeed, all societies would be in miserable circumstances; and which, if followed, would render man's life far more easy and comfortable than 'tis like to be, while men are so care-

less in performing the duties relating to one another. Where then is it? in those self-denials, and bearing the cross; in those persecutions, troubles, and difficulties, that religion sometimes exposes men to? well, suppose these things do fall to the portion of good men: yet, for answer, I ask, are they the only miserable? do no calamities light on the rest of the world? is there no hardness and difficulty in conquering the reason and stopping the mouth of the consciences of the profane and wicked, before they can get leave of themselves to follow such courses as they cannot but disallow? is there no torment in an accusing, stinging, and condemning conscience? no crosses and troubles in the way to destruction? is all so smooth and easy, so plain and safe, free and undisturbed, that no troubles or afflictions can possibly reach or affect them? nothing less. Nay, I think that it may be questioned whether the life of wicked persons, all things considered, be not the harder and fuller of difficulties, excepting only some particular times of persecution, when God calls men to lay down their lives for his sake. How often does one vice contradict another? what quarrels and contentions do arise among copartners? what fears of the detection of secret crimes? what horror of death, and future account? what poverty, disgrace, sickness, and a thousand inconveniences do they often bring upon themselves? and however a perpetual guilt dogging and accompanying them wheresoever they go, which will return again with the greater horror, by how much the more they shall have drowned the sense of it in debauchery and drinking. Nay farther, I suppose, that intemperance, luxury, quarrelling, and other vices, have brought innumerable more to an untimely death than ever religion did: so little reason men have to complain of the hardness of the way to heaven, when they take
such

such pains to go through with that course which, in the end, will requite them with eternal misery.

Never let me, O Lord, perform that drudgery, the wages whereof is eternal death, only to escape some difficulties and hardships in that way which leads to eternal bliss! Through Jesus Christ.

May 5, 1689.

V. *On the late great changes, and the present posture of affairs in England, &c.*

WHOEVER he be that sets up his rest here below, and is not sufficiently convinced of the vanity and uncertainty of all worldly goods; let him but seriously within his own breast reflect on these late great and astonishing mutations, and he need go no further for a convincing evidence of what he is so unwilling to believe, *viz.* That it is the greatest folly imaginable to lay up treasure, or place any confidence in this frail, mortal, and more than unconstant state, and vale of tears. The Divine Providence seems in all ages to have given instances sufficient to all mankind, to deter them from doating on earthly goods, from depending on princes favours, or thinking themselves secure in the most prosperous times, thereby to prepare their minds the better to attend the motions of his Holy Spirit, and the constant suggestions of the law of nature written in their hearts. For while we think we are secure, and likely to enjoy innumerable days of ease, honour, and satisfaction, we put the thoughts of death, judgment, and eternity, out of our minds; and we are apt to think we are so well provided for already, that we are in no need of looking out for another mansion, when our bodies are laid in the dust, and our souls fled to another region. We seldom care so to number our days

as to apply our hearts to wisdom, and the fear of God, while we are on every side encompassed with friends, treated with respect and observance, and carefs'd by the pleasing smiles of fortune; but when an adverse gale shall stop us in our career, and when the Almighty, by his providence, takes from us all the props and confidences wherein we trusted, and reduces us to straits and difficulties, then we are at leisure, and can freely look upwards to our Maker; then we are willing to entertain thoughts of God and religion, and can be content, seeing this world either gone or going, to look after a more durable felicity hereafter: and when we feel all our worldly holds to fail and deceive us, we erect our eyes and hopes towards a kingdom that cannot be moved; which no ill-will of a prince can deprive us of; nor any alteration of government eject us from. Good God! how adorable are thy dispensations, who, by denying us earth, givest us heaven: by afflicting us in this world, preparest a place for us, where we shall for evermore be freed from all manner of afflictions!

But we may make a farther use of these things, we may observe how hard a venture they run who prostitute their conscience to their interest; and venture on sin, to get the favour of those in authority. How soon are they, with their protectors, cast down, and made the scorn and the laughter of their neighbours? and how miserable must they needs be, who have an accusing conscience within, and nothing without to give them any support, or relief; when as he that in all times acts according to the dictates of reason, and is always true to his well settled principles, if affairs change, and he happen to be in adversity, he is esteem'd and honour'd by all sober men: and however, he has that within which is a sovereign cordial against all the mischiefs he may fall into; and can, with an humble

ble assurance, look up to heaven, and solace himself in the favour of God, and the hopes of a blessed immortality: He can, as *Horace* says, *Sua virtute se involvere*; and be as safe and happy with the defence of a good conscience, as if he had walls of brass encompassing him. If it please the Divine Providence to prosper and exalt him in the world, he is thankful, humble, and takes care to make use of his place, and power, for God's glory, and the benefit of mankind. But if the same Providence deprives him of all his honours and preferments, he knows 'tis because it will reward him sevenfold hereafter, and he is satisfied and contented; being assur'd, if his gracious Father had seen it best for him to have been still a courtier, or great, he should so have remain'd still: and he is not so foolish as to wish for what he believes would have been to his own harm and detriment, at the upshot: but heartily joins with that petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Thy Will be done*. But as to the actors in this great change, whether they can justify themselves before that God, who trieth the heart, and searcheth the reins, must be left to the determination of the Great Day, where no cunning shifts, and pretences of piety, will pass for a sufficient excuse for rebellion, and disobedience to lawful magistrates. Or whether it be lawful to comply with these things, and swear allegiance to a new king, the other claiming his right, 'tis not very easy to determine. [But more about this see, in my paper call'd *The lawfulness of the new oath of allegiance soberly discuss'd*.]

Shew me thy way, O Lord, and teach me thy paths. Make thy way plain before my face, that I may always have a conscience void of offence, towards God, and towards men. *Amen*.

May 12, 1689.

VI. *A Lamentation of the Decay of true Piety, and Practical Christianity.*

THERE needs nothing but a right sense of religion, following from a true notion of it, to make us sorely bewail its decay and disesteem in the world. When a man seriously considers the excellency, nobleness, necessity, usefulness, and pleasantness of religion; its fitness to man in every relation and condition of life; the peace and quiet of every particular soul, and of human societies and constitutions, which it aims at; the greatness of its object, even the one eternal Majesty of heaven and earth, the immensity of its rewards in another world; and withall takes a view of human nature, its faculties, and desires, its capacities, and endowments, exactly fitted and adapted to religion; as religion in the reverse is exactly calculated to supply the wants, remedy the evils, enlarge the powers, raise the mind, erect the hopes, and finally perfect and compleat mankind: and at the same time sees how little it is heeded, how vilely it is abused, how it is prostituted to every unworthy purpose, and now so intolerably spoil'd and corrupted in its practical part, which is the main aim and scope of it, that one may almost cry out, Away with it out of the world, let it divide no more minds, destroy no more kingdoms, butcher no more innocents, cloak no more crimes, nay, debauch no more principles any longer: he that shall soberly reflect on these things together, will be ready to say with the prophet *Jeremiah*, *O that my eyes were waters, and my head a fountain of tears, that I might lament, day and night, the miserable state and condition*

condition of the generality of mankind ! that I might bewail the madness, folly, and stupidity of wretched men ! That there should be such a price and opportunity put into the hands of such fools to get wisdom, who have no heart to it ! that so precious a privilege, purchas'd with the blood of the Son of God, as the promises of religion propose, of being heirs of eternal felicity, should be so undervalued and rejected by ungrateful mortals ! that what the Almighty design'd for the perfecting human nature should be so deform'd, alter'd, and chang'd, to be instrumental too often to its bane and misery ! Such considerations as these might well make a man conclude there were some great cheat in the business of religion ; some mighty imposition and abuse put upon mankind ; and that its principles were quite of a different nature from what it is above represented ; or else it must be resolved that, by one means or another, human nature is strangely distorted, and out of order, thus to convert meat into crudity ; physick into diseases ; and the most sovereign and universal medicine, into the most pernicious and epidemical malady. Which last will soon be found to be the real case of the world, when, (1.) 'tis undeniable to any one reading either the law of nature engraven in all men's hearts, or the law reveal'd to the *Jews* under dark representations, and to the Christians in its meridian splendour in the holy records, that the precepts, promises, threatenings, examples, and counsels of religion, are uniformly adapted, and do universally concenter in those noble ends, the glory and pleasing of God, in the perfecting and making happy of human nature, &c. (2.) 'Tis evident man's nature is a capable and proper subject of religion ; and that the ends propos'd by it are attainable : because *de facto* we find in the first ages of the church, that religion in a
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great measure attain'd its aim, and rendered the christians amiable, and honour'd in the eyes of the heathens themselves ; whereby multitudes were every where converted to our most holy profession, seeing them shew out of a good conversation, their works with meekness of wisdom ; as the apostle exhorts them. Then was the power and excellency of christianity seen, when *non magna loquimur, sed vivimus*, was the badge of a disciple of our Lord ; when more pains was taken in conquering lusts than foes ; and more fought against their sins than their sovereigns ; when *Preces* and *Lachrymæ* were the arms, and *Sanguis Martyrum* the seed of the church militant upon earth ; when christians had a serious sense of what they profess'd to believe, and durst not be hypocritical in that religion, for which every day they expected to lose their lives, and all they had in this world. Oh when will that golden age again visit the languishing church of Christ ? when will that daily piety and devotion ; that strict justice and sincerity ; that hearty love and charity grow warm in these frozen regions of the world any more ? but if it be too much to expect that ; yet I may have leave I hope to lament, to desire, to wish, and at least to comfort my troubled mind, with the thoughts that it was once among us on earth, and will return however in heaven to those that seek it earnestly in this world. O my good God ! whither is thy fear banished ! whither is devotion retir'd ? into some warmer regions of the earth ? no, they are as strange there as here. Whither is humility, temperance, candour, unity, contentment, peaceableness, and that mutual affection which is the known character of the followers of the Holy Jesus, driven and absconded ? alas ! they have most of them put on their ætherial vehicle, and abandon'd the reaking steams, and smoaky mists, of this dull and cloggy clay,

clay, to fly among the cælestial inhabitants ; where they are better welcom'd than among depraved mortals. Oh ! but do not quite leave us, O ye divine Graces ; do not utterly forsake those few who earnestly desire your grateful company ; tho' they are press'd down by loads of dirt, and the weight of those chains by which they are tyed to their earthly tabernacles.

And grant, O Father of mercies, that at last *Christendom* may become christians indeed, and we may all let our lights shine before men, that they may see our good works, and glorify thee our Father, who art in Heaven. That every one that nameth the name of Christ, may depart from all iniquity. O that we may all understand in this our day, the things that belong to our everlasting peace ! *Amen. Amen.*

November 3, 1689.

Being the day on which one Orton of our College died.

VII. Of Death.

WHENsoever we think or write of any things that concern this present life, we do it with some sense and feeling of that about which we are conversant, because we have ourselves experienced them, or the like to them. But when we reason and discourse of death, we are about what we never have had any taste of, nor any idea of our imagination, to which we might apply ourselves to describe it in a right manner. We indeed see, that after a hard struggle with a disease, at last the corpse grows stiff, cold, and fitter for a grave, than those actions to which before it always was so serviceable ; but as to the immaterial part
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the soul, we have no notices what is become of it, with what pangs it parted with its old companion the body, what faculties and affections it retains, whither it is doom'd, or how it fares with it in that other state ; I say we know nothing of all this by experience, till it is too late to describe it to others. The Almighty having, in his unsearchable Wisdom and Providence, thought fit to hide from men many of those things which we have the greatest natural desire of being acquainted withal ; to teach us entirely to depend on his revealed word and will, to keep us humble and watchful, knowing, that if we refuse *Moses* and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, neither would we be persuaded though one rose from the dead, to tell us by his own late experience what passes in that other world, how gracious God is to his children, and how severe towards incorrigible offenders. 'Tis sufficient for us that we are sure we must all die, and we know not at all what hour our Lord will come to require an account of our stewardship ; so that we know enough to make us watchful, and always prepared to meet the king of terrors ; to make us cautious how we venture on any sin, in the very commission whereof we may be snatch'd away to God's dreadful tribunal. The brute beasts, who have no account to render, and so it matters not much when or how they die, do not at all fear or foresee their own slaughter, though hundreds of their fellows be slain before their eyes. But man has reason, by viewing other's mortality, certainly to preface his own ; and so has all the obligation imaginable to provide before-hand for what he knows will shortly come to pass. How inexcusable are we then, miserable mortals, having spectacles of death every day almost before our eyes, to put far from us the evil day ! to reckon upon so many years to come ! and thereby to forget a due preparation

paration till death seizes, and we are just upon the brink of eternity! Oh that we would all wait till our change come with *Job*; and, as *Horace* bids, *Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum*; that at last, after the example of 5000 years mortality, we would live as those that know not but they may be in another world by the next morning; that we would improve that time which is lent us on purpose to work out our own salvation in so warily, as believing it to be a talent for which we must be accountable to him who lends it to us; that we would, at length, be persuaded to labour hard for the few minutes of this life, in hopes of winning a crown of immortality; and not by our careless behaviour, and customary sins, provoke God to cut off that thread of life which he sees we abuse so much to his dishonour, and our own ruin. We usually esteem it a great unhappiness to be taken away in the spring and youth of our age, before we have had sufficient experience of the folly of sin, and goodness of religion; when, I believe, 'tis often a point of the greatest mercy and compassion in Almighty God, to cut off some sinners at first; he foreseeing, if he should let 'em to go on, they would but augment the number, and aggravate the guilt of their sins, and so plunge themselves deeper into that lake which burns with fire and brimstone; and involve themselves faster in those flames which will never be quenched. So that it seems in mercy to be ordered by God, that very many sins soon draw death after them, and so take away the sins and the soul together; lest if the authors should be suffered to live long, they would more and more heat the furnace of God's wrath against themselves, and so partake of a sadder condemnation. For when men have once abandon'd the grace of God, and cast off the suggestions of conscience,

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and motions of God's Spirit, and given themselves to *Satan*, to work all uncleanness with greediness, 'tis impossible to do them a greater kindness than soon to take them away, and hurry them to a less punishment, that they may avoid a greater. Though if this be the best of the wicked man's death, 'tis very sad and deplorable. How can any sinner have a good countenance, a chearful look, or one dram of comfort and pleasure, while he is wallowing in those vices which only wait an opportunity to turn him into hell? How can one smile sit on his brow who must shortly wail and howl for ever? much less can any thing yield him any comfort when sickness seizes him, and the messenger of the judge of the world arrests him, and drags him out of this world, from all his old companions, pleasant cups, vain jollity, and brutish pleasures, to give an account of all those sins which he has been heaping up many years to his own destruction. At this hour what can help, what can any way comfort? nothing on every side but sin, an offended God, an accusing conscience, an aggravating devil, and eternal burnings! Oh the madness of wretched sinners! to court those lusts, and hug those sins, which will at last reduce them to such a desperate and intolerable condition, the sadness and horror whereof is unexpressible! but, on the other hand, if we look on the death of a good and righteous man, we shall perceive 'tis so far from a curse, that 'tis his only rescue out of the miseries of this frail state, and the beginning of never-failing pleasures in the other. This is the bridge that carries him over from time to eternity, from sorrow to joy, from care and fear to peace and security, from a far country to his father's house, from earth to heaven. O happy messenger, may the good man say when death seizes him; welcome thou ambassador

sador of my Father, thou finisher of sadness, and fountain of happiness! I willingly deliver up the uncertain tenure of this carcase into thy hands, who, I hope, will one day restore it me freed from those ills and maladies, those aches and pains, which I now endure by it. Welcome thou blessed deliverer! who, I trust will free me from the clog of this dull clay, and elevate my soul above flesh and blood; who wilt bestow on me, till my old tenement the body be re-edified, a more light and glorious vehicle; through which I shall more easily see the beauty and loveliness of my God, and perceive somewhat of those joys which I hope for at the resurrection of the just. How does these thoughts, this glimpse of my future happiness, enliven my decaying habitation? How does it enspirit my flying soul? and make it expect, with impatience, the minute when my Lord will come, and take me to himself? tho' I have been a great sinner, and utterly unworthy the least mercy, yet my humble hope is, that, through my dear Redeemer's precious merits and mediation, my heavenly Father will graciously accept of my hearty and sincere endeavours of pleasing him, and obeying his holy commandments; and that he will not overlook the meanest integrity of heart.

Farewel all ye my weeping friends; lament not my death, but prepare for your own. Farewel my dear relations, and make it your constant care to live so that we may meet again in heaven. I commend you all into God's hands, and my departing soul to the grace and mercy of my Redeemer. Come Lord Jesus, come quickly!

And, O my God! let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his. Let thy grace enable me so to overcome the temptations of this ensnaring world, that I may not be afraid or ashamed to die, and appear at thy dreadful

ful tribunal ; but may lead my life in this world so watchfully, piously, righteously, soberly, and circumspectly, that death may waft me over to the joys of a better life ; and when I leave this world I may go to thee, the fountain of goodness, and rest of holy souls! *Amen, Amen, blessed Jesus.*

Feb. 2, 1682
1690

VIII. *Upon occasion of just having taken my Degree of Batchelor of Arts*

WITH how great desire, and even impatience, does every one wait for the least honour or advantage in this world ! How earnestly does our soul pant after the least accommodation which it fancies will please, trim, and adorn it ; and make it look a little considerable in the eyes of the rest of mankind ? with what heat, passion, and ardour of affection, are honours, dignities, and promotions, sought after ; as if they were an essential ingredient in beatitude ; and, as if they would make a mighty accession to the heap of those goods, the accumulation of which is supposed to contain that which nature does incline us all to, plenary and perfect happiness. This is the case of mankind when they are in the pursuit of honour and advantage. But when the desire is accomplished, the dignity arrived at, instead of proving a tree of life (the emblem of compleat beatitude, and perfect contentment) as the satisfaction of reasonable desires is to the wise and moderate ; it not seldom becomes a vexatious burthen ; and we have more reason to wish it off our gall'd shoulders, than before we had to pursue it so furiously. But here what do men generally do in this case ? Do they renounce and despise the gaudy happiness with which they are adorned ?

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Do they quietly return to their former condition ? No such matter : the gilded, and varnished troubles pleases awhile, and though they feel themselves no better, perhaps worse at ease within, yet to be look'd at, and cring'd to, makes full amends for all other things. And such a one doubts not the next degree, the next step of preferment, the next apartment in the temple of honour, will fully satisfy, and recompense his late disappointment, and so with as swift a wing he speeds on to the next stage of dignity, as he did to that which he is now possessed of ; which, when arrived at, in the same manner pleases and takes with him awhile, till at last he is sated and cloy'd with what he so ambitiously courted : yet he will not leave his beloved evil, his tickling torture ; but insensible of his redoubled experience, vainly promises to himself peace, comfort, and full satisfaction, if he may be allowed to climb one degree higher ; till at last, when he has this his ultimate wish, he grows giddy with the height, and falls lower than ever he was before, the example of the prudent, and laughter of fools. All this while I may seem to shoot very wide off the mark, and not to consider on what occasion I am meditating. But if it be considered that small and great honour differ but in degree ; and that a tradesman will be as earnest for the mayoralty of a small town, as a duke for a kingdom proportionably ; it will appear I have not wholly deviated from my proposed subject. For at *Cambridge* I will maintain some will look as big, and be as proud and conceited upon the change of a year, or the obtaining the degree of bachelor, as *Alexander* on the conquests of *India* ; or *Cæsar* on his victory over *Pompey* his rival for the empire of the world. Nay, you shall see a Soph, who never yet saw eighteen, as high and lordly, as hectoring and imperious, as if he was newly

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made emperor in *Utopia*. So much does the desire of honour, and the fancy of being above others, prevail in all mankind. But to come close to the point. When I seriously consider my degree, and the duties belonging to it, or that are like to be subsequent of it, such as being at liberty, and at one's own dispose; and more from under the care of tutors and overseers; being thereby obliged to greater gravity, seriousness, and to carry one's self like men and scholars; the being shortly to be employ'd, if God spare life and health, in the sacred, and vastly important office of the ministry; and such like. These considerations, I say, rather induce me to solicitude, and fervent prayer to God Almighty, that he would be pleased to take care of me, and enable me to discharge faithfully the several duties I am, or may hereafter be called to. I have very great cause I confess of adoring, blessing, and celebrating the name of my good God, who has kept me hitherto through all the dangers of infancy, childhood, and youth, and preserved me untainted from any of those notorious vices which abound every where, and especially who has been my guide, helper, and father, at *Cambridge*, where I have been far from my dear mother, and kind relations, and so more immediately committed to the Almighty's providence; and here, indeed, I have had various, and great instances of the tender care, and blessing of God, in preserving my soul free from those infectious vices which the university too much abounds withal; though I must acknowledge, with shame and regret, that I have often been chill'd and cool'd in my religion, with the constant worldly discourse, and converse; and the rare examples, among my equals, of a lively sense of God and religion; and with the too formal, though frequent and re-iterated exercise of
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public devotion: though I say, from these things, and my own backwardness, and want of serious improvement of sacraments, sabbaths, and those many excellent sermons I have heard here, I cannot brag of much improvement as to my spiritual concerns; yet God has by no means been wanting with his grace, both preventing and assisting to me, and has continued his mercy also to me to this very moment: and, in particular, has so far preserved my health, under a weak frame of body, that I have never been so ill for any time as not to be able to help myself, and so commit myself to some who oft prove murderers, if reports be true, instead of nurses. This I esteem a very great favour, for methinks I could be content, if it pleased God, to endure much more sickness under the care of my mother and friends, than at *Cambridge*; where I cannot have those comforts and supports both for soul and body, as in the country I may reasonably expect, from those who have as well a nearer relation, as a greater affection for me. To my great and chief benefactor therefore do I address myself.

O thou Father of mercies, through whom I was born; who hast exercised a particular care and providence over me in soul and body all my life long; who hast led me safely through the various stages of infancy, childhood, and youth; and hast especially manifested the care of my eternal interest, O thou lover of souls, in giving me pious parents, and inclining my heart to thee early, in keeping me out of temptation, and in preventing my going astray from thee, especially at *Cambridge*, where so many temptations on every side did surround me; accept of this unfeigned sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which I offer to thy Majesty, for all these, and all other thy innumerable and undeserved benefits to me; who am less

than the least of all thy mercies; and a miserable offender against thy divine Majesty, and holy laws. To thee I desire to offer all laud, love, adoration, and blessing, for all these thy infinite favours. What am I, O Lord, that thou shouldst so regard me, and be so loth that I should perish? what am I but dust and ashes, that the Lord of Glory should lead me by the hand to this comfortable time, and not suffer my enemies to triumph over me? I thank thee for my life, health, food, cloathing, preservation, protection, kind relations, and friends, and all other the mercies thou hast heaped upon me as to this world; but above all, for what concerns another, the constant assistance of thy grace, checks of my conscience, happy providences, and every thing else that thou hast done in order to my salvation. To thee do I dedicate and devote myself soul and body, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice, to be always employed in religion, or innocence, to do thy will, and obey all thy commandments. Do thou therefore pardon all my past sins, and grant me thy grace, that hereafter I may always be dying to sin, and rising again to righteousness, continually mortifying all my evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living. That I may perform every trust and duty incumbent on me faithfully, and with an upright heart, do thou direct me as to my choice of my condition of life, and in all things in which I may stand in need of, that wisdom which only flows from thee its source and fountain: and in whatsoever employment or place thy providence shall call me to, that I may obtain mercy to be faithful; and may always endeavour to have a conscience void of offence towards thee, and towards all men; that when thou shalt call me out of this world, I may be willing to depart, and to be
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with Christ; saying with the apostle, *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day.* Grant all this, O Father! thro' *Jesus Christ* our Lord, and Saviour. *Amen.*

Sept. 21, 1690.

IX. Of *Atheism speculative and practical.*

IT was a noble saying of a heathen, that supposing he thought there were no God to govern the world, it would not be worth his while to live in it; and certainly, were all acknowledgment of a supreme all-seeing power banished from among men, it would be highly eligible for a wise man to choose to be annihilated, and return to a state of insensibility, or at least to the condition of the brutes that perish, rather than live among canibals and lawless monsters, (such as mankind, by such a disbelief, would degenerate into) a prey to every one stronger than himself, and without any hope or glimmering expectation of ever seeing the world reformed; and in utter despair of ever enjoying himself better than he would then do. What comfort could a man reap in any affliction, if all were nothing but inexorable fate, or unthinking chance? whither should a distressed innocent apply himself when he is unjustly condemned? what could engage a prudent man to generosity, and patience under the irremediable load of worldly cares, troubles, disappointments, and vexations? finally, where should a sick, dying creature address his prayers? whither should he look for a little support and allay for his heart-piercing throws and pangs? and how, with any tolerable view, could he reflect on the king of ter-

ror's approach, and slide into an abhorred non-entity ; as he must fancy at best. But far worse is the atheist's case, if his conscience awakes before he dies ; and he finds, by its cutting lashes, and dire forebodings ; by its condemning sentence, and dreadful foretelling the approaching Judgment, and subsequent burnings ; that his sullen and obstinate incredulity has not annihilated the God of heaven, but only heated the fire of his indignation seven times hotter than otherwise it would have been ; if, I say, the case should stand thus with the guilty wretch, where now is the confidence with which he dared the Almighty ? what will all his sensual pleasures now confer to his comfort and satisfaction, and his jolly company, the clubs of debauchees ; how will they be able to administer one dram of consolation in his greatest need ? miserable, thrice miserable man ! thus to have, by thy own obstinacy and infidelity, precluded all hope from thyself at thy latter end ! thus to have been without God all thy life, but only to be thy torment at thy dying minute ! so to have spent that life, which might have been improved into never-fading pleasures in heaven, as to have precipitated thyself headlong into those flames which have been thy sport and pastime, and now like to prey upon thee to all eternity ! wretch that thou wast ! for a wanton, vile, contradictory humour ; for a few fading, withering, beastly pleasures ; for a not considerable time of licentiousness and uncleanness, of sin and profaneness ; for the sake of some base, hectoring, damning companions ; to have denied and provoked that infinite Being, which would have been thy support and protector, thy hope and satisfaction, thy comforter and benefactor, and to have rendered him bound in justice to make good his insupportable threats in thy everlasting perdition ! this, this is the sad and deplorable case
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of an atheist awakened just as the pit of hell is opening its mouth to receive him; not to mention all the secret stings and goads of his conscience in an affliction, or in a sober interval; the meanness and pusillanimity his atheism betrays him into; the voice of nature, and the fears and misgivings, lest at last he should be mistaken, and so be lost irrecoverably. This is the way of them that forget God, and endeavour to root out the belief of the being of their own omnipotent Creator, from the minds of men: and such are the wages of their daring sin, and hectoring profaneness. O my soul, come not thou into their secrets; enter not into their society here, as ever thou desirest not to enjoy it hereafter. The condition of the speculative atheist, as is described before, one would think were as bad, as miserable as is any way possible to fancy. But yet the worse half is yet to come; the folly of the former is notorious; but consider awhile, and you will see the practical atheist is the greater fool, and more inexcusable, and so, perhaps, must abide a greater punishment in hell. The other had so much cunning as to see the belief of a God would be a severe restraint to his jollities, and put a stop to his career of sensuality: he foresaw his conscience, if trusted with a belief of the almighty power and unrelenting justice, would be always an impertinent, troublesome interrupter of his unhallowed mirth, and give him now and then a severe reprimand for his unreasonable vices. Therefore he craftily undermines the root, and aims at the extirpation of that Being which he could not love, and imitate, and was loath to fear and dread. At least providing, as well as he could, for a present enjoyment of sin, if he fail of avoiding its punishment hereafter. But the man before us, the practical atheist, scorns to trouble himself with so prevailing a belief, contents

himself with following his swing of lust at a venture, and resolves (*vivens videnſque pereo*) let what will be the iſſue of it, he will have his vices ; and, though his life be ſhort, the devil ſhall have as much of it as he can give him : come what will, he reſolves not to be a renegado, or turncoat ; and though hell be the end of his Journey, he confeſſes, he finding much company in the road, is fixed to go with them, and ſhift hereafter as well as he can. He dares heaven, and openly in the face of God blaſphemes him by his actions, and ſeems fearful of nothing, but leſt he ſhould be a ſmall ſinner, and ſo ſhould have but ſmall torment in the other world. His conſcience tells him of his duty and obligations to God ; of his breaches of the divine law ; warns him of the ſeverity of abuſed patience, and affronted omnipotence ; preſents to him the jaws of hell gaping to receive him, and ſets before his eyes the miſeries of an everlaſting hell, which muſt ſoon be his portion, without timely and ſerious repentance. Yet all this notwithstanding, the hardened wretch ſtops his ears, runs to his companions, and ſo, with new ſins, takes away the remembrance of the former. But, O moſt miſerable man ! what doſt thou do ? with whom doſt thou contend ? with the eternal God. What joys doſt thou loſe ? pure and never-failing at God's right-hand for evermore. What torments doſt thou run ſtrait into ? endleſs, eaſeleſs, and remedileſs. And who can abide devouring fire ? who can dwell with everlaſting burnings ? conſider a little with thyſelf the joys which thou now haſt will be gone, and the torments preſent, what wilt thou then do ? or to whom wilt thou flee for help and ſuccour ? no one can be able to give thee any comfort or releaſe, but that Maſteſty whom thou art rendering inexorable ; and who is treaſuring up wrath againſt the day of his righteous

teous judgment, to pour down on thy head, and consume thee with a never-dying death. What wilt thou do on a death-bed, when all thy friends cannot help thee, and the physician gives thee over for incurable? and how inexcusable wilt thou be at the great day, when the doom which then will be pronounced has been thy free choice, and uncompelled election: *depart thou cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels; into outer darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth, for evermore; where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*

O my soul! envy thou not the sinners, and choose none of their ways; for their steps lead to destruction, and the chambers of death. If these are the paths, such the folly, and madness, and punishment of sinners, and atheistical persons, good Lord deliver me from them. Deliver me not into the bitter pains of eternal death! let my flesh tremble for fear of thee, and make me so afraid of thy judgments, as to work out my salvation with fear and trembling, as to go through any the most irksome and tedious duties of religion, rather than thus to fall into the hands of the living and incensed God; who is a consuming fire, and can destroy both soul and body in hell. Through *Jesus Christ*, our Mediator and Redeemer. *Amen!*

X. *On occasion of Mr. Hollis's death, July 15, 1691. and my being chose Fellow the next day.*

SAD and miserable is their end, who have lived without God in the world. Deplorable is their case, who never laid up a good foundation against the time to come, that they might lay hold on eternal life. Affrighting is the approach of death in any shape; but when it comes on a sudden, in the midst

midst of jollity and drinking, debauchery and merry company, and on a sudden seizes the trembling sinner, and in a very little time hurries him out of this world; how much more terrible must it be! to be hurried from the noise and huzza's of a jolly assignation to the judgment-seat of Christ; from bowls of wine to the wrathful tribunal of an offended God; from sinful time to a miserable eternity; is an amazing scene of horror and astonishment, not to be mentioned without consternation, nor thought of without a groan, nor remembered without commiserating tears. Were death nothing but the meer leaving those pleasures, and being for ever deprived of those bewitching pastimes, it might torment the man with the thoughts of it: how much more when it is the departing from that life to another; from a careless world to a strict judgment; and, to ill men, from vain jollities to intolerable torments. This prospect of death should spoil the mirth of secure sinners, and dull all their jovial assignations; should, like the hand-writing on the wall to *Belshazzar*, make their joints tremble, and their knees smite one against another. One would think it impossible for any man of reason to be so fatally befooled and fascinated with the charms of sin, as not to be awakened with the daily spectacles of mortality before his eyes; and roused out of his lethargy and stupidity by that doleful knell which shews his fellow-christian to be newly launched into the ocean of eternity. One would think each funeral sermon (which, if any thing can, will affect men) should convert multitudes; and that, as *Solomon* says, *Those that go to the house of mourning should lay it to heart*, Eccles. vii. 2. But, alas! daily examples of carelessness and unconcernedness about these things, too plainly prove that nothing can affect a hardened sinner; nothing can make him
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serious ; no, not his nearest relation's death before his eyes ; those who will not be wrought on by the word of God, are not often truly converted by the most astonishing accident, nor would be persuaded though one rose from the dead. Men are a little startled at the news of a friend's death, and the loss of an old companion ; and for a few hours perhaps have serious thoughts and resolutions. But then the rest of the club soon drive away such melancholy whimsies, and the bottle is an infallible cordial, and comfortable diversion from those importunate and unwelcome reflections of their own consciences, which, if followed on, might have made them happy for ever. Lord, let me in health serve thee, that thou mayst be with me in sickness, and at the hour of death. And let me not one moment remain in a condition, in which, if death does surprize me, I am for ever miserable. Let me live the life of the righteous, that so I may die his death ; and that my last end, how sudden, or in what manner soever, may be like his, safe, secure, peaceable, and full of a joyful hope of a glorious immortality. *Amen.*

This sudden providence, and surprizing accident of Mr. *Hollis's* death, (who was merry enough but a week before at the commencement) seems providentially disposed for my warning and caution, just upon my advancement to a fellowship ; not to be proud and conceited, forgetful of God, and unmindful of eternity : and may be looked on as an awakening memento of mortality ; than which there is not a more powerful argument to all diligence, sobriety, watchfulness, and piety, while we have our lives continued to us. And, O that this, as well as other examples of mortality, may have their due influence on us all ! in particular, may Mr. *Hollis's* end effectually work upon all the members of this college, and make them
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more cautious of spending their time, more careful lest their hearts be overcharged with surfeiting or drunkenness, and so the day of death overtake them unawares. May it be long considered and reflected on, till it puts them all upon a serious consideration of their duties, and make them all answer the end of their maintenance in college, by constantly endeavouring, by their learning and religion, to set forth God's glory, and set forward the salvation of all men. And those who are designed for the sacred function, may they labour to save their own souls, and the souls of those that hear them. As to my own advancement, I have reason to thank God, and acknowledge my friends kindness to me, who have, without the least recommendation from any other friend, by their suffrages obtained this place for me. And I sincerely beg of the divine Majesty, that as he has hitherto shewn a very tender, fatherly care over me, as to spiritual and temporal concerns, for which I ought never to forget to bless and adore his holy name; and by his providence and spirit has guided me, and kept me hitherto; so that he would still go on to do me good, and to perfect that which concerns me, and not forsake the work of his own hands: that he would keep me from evil, and in his fear continually, that I may not grow cold in, or backslide from any part of my christian duty, but grow in grace, and in that practical knowledge of his will, as may influence all my thoughts, passions, desires, resolutions and actions. That I may be faithful to the death, that so I may at length receive a crown of life. *Amen! Amen! Blessed Father!*

N. B. It will not be much out of the order of time, if I here subjoin that *Sermon*, or *Common-Place*, as we ordinarily call such performances in colleges, at the commemoration of our benefactors at
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Clare-Hall, preached *December 17, 1698*, it being short, and suitable to the occasion, and giving accidental hints at some irregularities of our college at that time, which may supply in part the loss of that fore-mentioned paper, *Emendanda in Collegio*.





Clare-Hall, Decemb. 17, 1698.

DEUT. VI. 10, 11, 12.

It shall be when the Lord thy God shall give thee great and goodly cities which thou buildest not ; and houses full of all good things which thou filledst not ; and wells digged which thou diggedst not ; vineyards and olive-trees which thou plantedst not ; when thou shalt have eaten and be full ; then beware lest thou forget the Lord, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt.

THESE words are part of a serious exhortation of the great legislator of the *Jews* to that people, after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, and before their admission into the land of *Canaan*. In which he takes occasion to remind them not only of the great obligations to the worship of the God of *Israel*, their great benefactor, from the consideration of his miraculous deliverance of them from the *Egyptian* bondage already past ; but farther assures them, that the same obligation would be mightily increased hereafter ; and that the plentiful provision he would make for them, at the cost and pains of their enemies, and the conveniences and advantages his providence would secure to them, without their own care or trouble, ought to be looked on as the greatest tie possible to their duty and obedience. As if *Moses* had said, Almighty God, by the continuance of that merciful course of his gracious providence, which

which he has already begun, and out of his tender care of you, his chosen people, will in a short time compleat your deliverance, and settle you with peace and security, with plenty and abundance, in the *Land of Promise*. He will, in a little while, bless *you*, who have hitherto endured the inconveniences of a wilderness, and of a wandering and uncertain state, with cities and houses of your own; and those great and goodly, well furnished and adorned: he will bless you also with wells of water for your necessities, and with wine and oil for your pleasure and entertainment: In short, he will make every way such plenty and abundance round about you, that it will be in your power to enjoy all the pleasures of affluence, and all the delicacies and satisfactions of a wealthy and an easy state of life. This will soon be your condition after you arrive at the land of *Canaan*: but when this is your case, be not like ungrateful *Jeshurun*, who waxed fat and kicked; who forsook God that made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation, Deut. xxxii. 15. Remember who it is to whom all the happiness is owing, and that every blessing you receive from God is to be returned back in gratitude and obedience. Consider the ends and intentions of all the divine goodness to you; to lead you to repentance; to encourage your religious services; to take off from you the burdens of poverty, and the distractions and interruptions of want, in order to your enjoying more time, and employing with greater alacrity more of your spare hours in the offices of his worship. Do not forget when you reflect upon your brave cities, your fine houses, your handsome furniture, your conveniences for pleasure, as well as necessities for life, that all these advantages were not originally your own, nor from yourselves; were not the product of your
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own industry or diligence, but the proper gifts of Almighty God, and the sole effects of his goodness and love to you. When you think upon your cities or your houses, remember withal they were not of your own building, nor enlarged and furnished at your own cost; but by those enemies whom the power of God alone has dispossessed for you. Whenever you make use of the water of your wells, or of the wine and oil of your plantations, consider it was others that digged the former, and planted the latter; and that it is only the title of God's donation by which you claim a right to any of these things. Beware therefore lest you, who are but tenants or stewards, behave yourselves as if you were lords and possessors. Take heed lest that abundant provision the divine bounty has made for you, have so fatal and mischievous an effect as to encourage your sloth, your luxury, your pride, and your irreligion. Then above all times, *beware lest thou forget the Lord; lest thou be unmindful of the rock that begat thee, and forgettest the God that formed thee*, Deut. xxxii. 18.

In these words therefore we may observe how much Almighty God expects from those who are plentifully provided for by his providence; and particularly from those who are taken care of by such means as themselves could not have any hand in, but accrue to them from the labours and wealth of others, without any pains and toil of their own in the acquisition; which, by the blessing of God, and the liberality of those our pious and generous founders and benefactors, whom we are now met thankfully to commemorate, is our case at present; and will therefore be a subject very suitable for our meditations at this time. The observation therefore which the words of the text afford us, if we consider them with a peculiar regard

regard to our own circumstances, and as appropriated to our present business is this: that [the plentiful provision which is in this place made for us, and] the great advantages we reap by the liberality of our benefactors to us, lays a mighty obligation upon us to obedience to that God, whose providence by such methods takes care of us; and to a careful answering the pious intentions of those who aimed at the glory of God, and the good of men, and not our bare private maintenance in those endowments they have settled upon us.

In discoursing upon which, I shall (1.) enquire whence, and from what heads this obligation arises. (2.) What our principal obligations themselves are, or to what duties and offices we are in particular obliged by the enjoyment of these advantages. (1.) I am to enquire whence, or from what heads our obligation in the present case does arise. And I think, I need not go farther in search after these points, than those three obvious particulars which immediately present themselves to our consideration. (1.) This obligation arises from strict and absolute justice. (2.) From that branch of justice which ties us to veracity, and the performance of our promises. (3.) From gratitude, and the sense of favours bestowed upon us.

I. This obligation arises from strict and absolute justice. For we ought not to think, that the great advantages we here enjoy belong to us as an estate of inheritance belongs to the immediate heir: so that without any more ado, we may esteem them our own, and behave ourselves under them as we please. But we are to look upon them as bestowed upon us conditionally, and with at least a tacit agreement and covenant, that our true right and property shall depend on our good behaviour, and on our faithful performance of those duties and

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offices, whether of piety or charity, which such generous endowments were designed to promote. As it is in all our worldly possessions with regard to Almighty God ; so is it, in some measure, in our collegiate enjoyments; with regard to our founders and benefactors. For as our title to this world's goods, when considered with respect to other men, is by no means founded on our goodness and virtue ; and so is intirely valid in human judicatures, be our morals never so bad, and our lives never so scandalous ; tho' at the same time we are but stewards under the great possessor of heaven and earth, and must be accountable to him for the abuse of all those things, whose absolute title and property he ever reserved to himself. So in the case before us, we may have so just and legal a right to the advantages belonging to a collegiate society, that none can, or ought to dispossess us ; while at the same time we may be so little careful of our duties here, and so little answer the main ends and intentions of our foundation, (in view of securing which these endowments were made, and which are a tacit condition implied in the very nature of the donation itself) that we may justly be called to account hereafter for our unjust intrusion ; or, at least, unworthy mismanagement and abuse of so great, and so well-designed benefactions. If we be willing to enjoy the *benefits*, we ought never to think ourselves excused from the *duties* of a college. And I cannot tell whether we ought in justice, and with a safe conscience, to reap the advantages, if we be not careful to discharge the offices, and perform the trust belonging to those, by the express will of the donors, who are intitled to them. I am sure it will deserve every one of our sober considerations, how hard it will lie upon us at the last day, if we have, for a long time, ventured to live upon the profits of a learned
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and religious foundation, and all the while have had no regard to those great ends and conditions annexed to them; and what we shall be able to plead in our own behalf, if, instead of pursuing with all sincerity the glory of God, the advancement of learning and religion, the disposing ourselves for the service of Christ's church, and the doing good to the souls of men (which our very acceptance of these benefits implies our obligation to) we make no other use of them, than to live an easy and pleasurable life; and to privilege ourselves from the business and offices, whether of piety or humanity, which otherwise in the world we should be unable so readily to avoid. And if the mere omission of our duty, and the single unprofitableness of our lives here be so criminal, and so perilous, how much more so must be the positive abuse of our plenty and leisure; the actual discouraging of virtue or learning; the affording real examples of intemperance, profaneness, lewdness, or debauchery; and thereby doing all we can to hinder and prevent those pious intentions of our religious founders and benefactors, which we ought, with all our might, to promote in the world? Such as these are so far from having a proper right and title to what they have from these charitable foundations, that, if those who settled them could be supposed capable of reviewing the said mis-employment of their donations, they would be under a temptation of repenting of the whole benefaction, upon the account of those abuses in some parts thereof; and would be ready to use the most violent means to free their endowments from such ungrateful and unjust usurpers, who should so wretchedly pervert their pious design, as to lead men down to the chambers of sin and death, by those very means, which were fitted and intended for the promoting of mens holiness here, and happiness hereafter.

II. This obligation is also founded on that part of justice which requires veracity, and the performance of our promises. All we, who, in the most peculiar sense, are members of this collegiate society, have solemnly engaged ourselves at our admission thereinto, to observe the pious rules and statutes of our foundations; and do our utmost also to induce all others of our body to observe the same. And tho' the change of times and circumstances may sometimes make it less necessary to urge the actual observance of the letter of every ancient constitution; yet the main design of the foundation itself, and all those rules and statutes which really tend to promote the same, I mean, all which are necessary or useful for the peace, the discipline, the sobriety, and diligence of the members of the society; or, in short, are proper to encourage the good, and discourage the bad; to advance true religion, and discountenance ungodliness and impiety amongst us: all these rules and statutes, I say, we are to observe inviolably; or else we must needs incur the heinous sin of perjury: and be not only unjust intruders into others possessions, but perfidious and forsworn persons also. And tho' this obligation does chiefly belong to those who are most strictly members, and have by their own voluntary engagement and oath particularly bound themselves to the rules and statutes of the society; yet even those others, who are members in a less degree, ought not to think themselves, even on this account, wholly free and at liberty; the very desire and acceptance of admission into a society, which is known to be under certain laws and institutions, being a tacit agreement to them, and implying some kind of promise of the observation of the same. So that upon the whole, no one among us can intirely be disengaged,
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even in point of veracity and faithfulness to his promises, from obeying the pious rules of our society, from the endeavouring with all zeal and sincerity to promote the great ends of this, and all other such like religious and charitable foundations, the advancement of virtue, learning, and true religion in the world.

III. This obligation is also founded upon gratitude, or the sense of favours bestowed upon us. And this particular, to be sure, reaches every one of us, and ought to secure our universal compliance to all that is good and useful in this society, of which we are members; and that whether we regard those generous founders and benefactors, by whose immediate bounty we are maintained, or whether we go a step farther, and have respect to the providence of God; which is the ultimate source and original of all our blessings. And sure, in the first place, if we go no farther than our immediate founders and benefactors, we have such mighty obligations to them, as should be abundantly sufficient, even tho' they had only desired, and not at all commanded any of those duties which are proper in such societies; according to all the rules of generosity and good-nature, to secure their performance. If we had been only told by their last wills and testaments, that they, out of a sense of God's mercy, in bestowing this world's goods upon them, and for the continual advancement of the christian religion, and promoting of all those sciences, those offices, that virtuous behaviour, and unblameable conversation, which should most adorn and advance the same; and particularly, in order to the strict and regular, the sober, pious, studious, and religious education of those who might afterwards enter upon the most sacred function of the ministry, and become learned and ex-

emplary preachers of the gospel, that they, for these great and noble ends and purposes, did bequeath such large portions of their estates for a collegiate foundation; conjuring all those who should in future ages, to the end of the world, be partakers of the benefits of their endowments, that, without any other force or tie upon them, as ever they had any sense of gratitude to themselves, and inclination to fulfil the last requests and dying words of their benefactors, they would strictly and constantly perform the duties of their places, and answer the ends of their institution. [Nay, as ever they hoped to see them with alacrity and comfort at the last day.] If, I say, we had no other obligations laid upon us, than such parting desires of our founders and benefactors (which are no other than the just construction, if not sometimes also the proper sense of those writings, those wills and testaments, by which our colleges were settled and established for us) we must forfeit our pretence to all that is humane, if we reject these obligations of gratitude, and can resolve to behave ourselves still, as if we owed no acknowledgments to them. And shall even the most pressing and affectionate intreaties of our best and most generous benefactors, have no manner of influence upon us; even when they importune us only to take care of our duty, and so, by consequence, to secure our present and our future happiness! But if this part of gratitude, which regards men, and those who are the bare instruments of our blessings, should be too weak to affect us; yet sure the other part, which regards Almighty God, the fountain and origin of all our enjoyments, will prove stronger, and engage us effectually to a ready return of duty and obedience, in consideration of his peculiar bounty to us, and that plentiful provision he has made for us in this place. We, indeed, can only see
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the external means which confer these benefits upon us; but cannot so readily observe that invisible hand, which secretly, but most properly, orders and disposes of all events, and bestows the good things of this life on whomsoever it pleaseth.

It was the complaint of God, by his prophet *Hosea*, Ch. ii. 8, 9, 12. concerning the people of *Israel* in their plentiful state, that they did not take notice of his secret providence and bounty in that affluence they enjoyed, nor use it to his service as they ought to have done; and threatens, that, to convince them of their ingrateful and wicked mistake, he would take it away from them. *She did not know that I gave her corn, and wine, and oil, and multiplied her silver and gold: therefore will I return, and take away my corn in the time thereof; and my wine in the season thereof; and will recover my wool and my flax, and will destroy her vines and her fig-trees.* And the like complaint, I am afraid, the Almighty may but too justly take up against the present, as well as the past generations; nay, against us in particular, who in this place enjoy so many of his blessings, and are so abundantly provided for by his gracious providence over us. And I wish we may every one be for the future so deeply sensible of the divine Goodness to us, in these our great advantages here, that ease and security; that maintenance and leisure; that freedom from the cares and troubles of life; that happy opportunity of an ingenious and learned education, as may in some good measure correspond to the proportion of God's mercies, and oblige us to shew our grateful resentment of them, not only with our lips, but in our lives; not only with verbal praises and acknowledgments, which yet are very fit and suitable in our case; but with a great zeal for God's honour, with a fervent endeavour of doing good in our places, with a hearty dedication of our time and

lives to the service of our Saviour ; and, in one word, with leading a godly, a righteous, and a sober life, both during our stay here, and in our future behaviour in the world : which are the best expressions of our thankfulness to God ; the best returns to the kindness of our benefactors ; and will yield us the greatest comfort both now in our own mind, and at the last day of account. Which brings me to the

II^d general head of my discourse, which is to enquire what our principal obligations themselves are ; or to what duties and offices we are in particular obliged by the enjoyment of these advantages of our religious foundations. And here, because the time will by no means give me leave to be at all large, I shall confine myself to a few particulars ; and only take occasion to recommend to your practice three things, the observance of which will be of special advantage in a collegiate society, and will, in great part, secure the main designs of these charitable endowments.

And those three things I shall pitch upon shall, agreeably to the known division of our duty to God, to ourselves, and to our neighbours, be (1.) The constant attendance upon the worship of God in this place. (2.) A strict temperance and sobriety towards ourselves. (3.) A diligent improvement of ourselves in learning for the advantage of others.

(1.) We, who by the good providence of God are here so plentifully maintained, and secured from the cares and business of the world, are under a mighty obligation to a constant and serious attendance upon the worship of God in this place. This is one of the principal designs of all retired and monastic societies, and was undoubtedly a main part of the intentions of our religious founders,
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that being sequestered from the common toils and anxieties of life, we should, with less interruption and distraction, every day apply ourselves to devotion; that we should continually own the divine providence, and implore its blessings on our studies and enquiries; that we should begin and end every day with the more immediate service of God, and attain, by degrees, that devout and heavenly temper of mind, which may direct all our studies to the service of religion, and devote even our profane learning to the ministry of the altar. And it will be worthy our care to provide, that, while we are labouring to improve ourselves in human sciences, we at the same time may not neglect what is of much greater importance, I mean, that heavenly-mindedness, devotion, resignation to the will, and dependance upon the goodness of the Almighty: In short, that divine nature, and god-like disposition of soul, which is the perfection of the christian life here on earth, and will make us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light hereafter in heaven. And give me leave in this place to say, that as this constant and serious attendance upon the publick prayers, is a duty incumbent upon all who are, in any degree, members of our society; so is it most especially so, of those who enjoy the greatest advantages, and have the principal share in the government of the same. It is an observation that is sometimes made, (and I fear me is not always without truth;) that those who enjoy less of the advantages, and so are, on that account, under smaller ties to our daily morning and evening sacrifice of prayer, are yet, by some motives or other prevailed upon to a more constant and uninterrupted attendance on the same, than, perhaps, some of those whose years and consideration, to say nothing of any other motives, ought to prevail upon

upon them to set a better example, and take a better care of the constancy of their devotions. Nay, I doubt some have been so ready to betray the imperfection of their religion in this point, that they have chose that very time for the slackening their attendance on these daily prayers, when, by their admission to the highest benefits and advantages of the society, they were under a new and stricter obligation to a greater constancy; and when their example and authority was likely to have a greater influence on the rest of the college. Which observations, if in any case true, are so shameful, that a just indignation will not permit me to wave the taking notice of them. And I wish that all future observations may shew, that every one concerned is so constant, as well as serious, in the worship of God in this place, that no one may be able to make any reflections of this nature; but that all of us, from the highest to the lowest, as far as our health, our age, and our necessary engagements will allow, may meet unanimously together, and join universally, with one heart and one voice, in the prayers and praises which are here offered to the Almighty: it being not fit for us to expect, that our inferiors should be by us obliged to a constant attendance on those prayers, which we ourselves but rarely frequent; and our society never to be so properly stiled a religious one, as when equal numbers appear in the chapel at their devotion, as do the like in the college upon the other occasions of life.

But (2.) besides devotion towards God, we of these collegiate societies are under the highest obligations to temperance and sobriety towards ourselves. And, indeed, this is a duty that has a very necessary dependance on the nature of our foundations; which are no other than those of charity. And sure it is the grossest piece of abuse
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of the charity of our founders, to spend in extravagancies that allowance, which was only intended for the relief of our necessities, and the assistance of our learning. But to wave that consideration, there is another, which ought to have the greatest influence upon us in this case; and it is this: that nothing has more contributed to the dishonour of our way of education here; to the reproach of the best of churches; and to the rendering its clergy contemptible, and their labours unsuccessful; and to the increasing the unreasonable divisions and separations in this kingdom, than the general opinion of the too free and loose course of life which some amongst us, and that without any effectual discouragement, are supposed to lead. How far this opinion or prejudice taken up against us is false, or at least aggravated by our enemies, as is too usual in all such cases, I shall not now enquire. But I shall only say, God send our future reformation in this point, (of so vast importance to the well-being of our whole community, nay, of the whole church of *England*,) may be remarkable enough to silence even our sharpest enemies; and may every one of us in particular, who either have already, or are here designing to take upon us the holy office of the ministry, be so far from any instances of rioting, or excess, that, with the blessed apostle *St. Paul*, we may be temperate in all things; and be on the other side disposed to beat under our bodies, and bring them into subjection; lest, when we have preached to others, we ourselves should at last become castaways. *1 Cor. ix. 25, 27.*

(3.) Lastly, we, who enjoy the advantages of these generous foundations, are under a mighty obligation, not only to devotion towards God, and sobriety towards ourselves, but also to diligence in our studies and learning, in order to the advantage

vantage of others. Since the extraordinary effusions of the gifts of the blessed spirit are ceased in the church, those qualifications which are proper to fit us for the understanding the holy scriptures, for the propagation of christianity, for the conversion of infidels, for the edification of believers, and for the maintenance of true religion in the world, are to be acquired, under the divine blessing, by our own labour and diligence; by constant study and application. And this acquisition of solid and useful learning was generally one principal intention in all the collegiate foundations of the christian world, as well as of ours in particular. So that a diligent pursuit of useful knowledge, and sound learning, must needs be one of the great duties which is incumbent on us all in this place; and which no security of a perpetual provision ought to excuse us from, nor any ability of living without the dependance on learning for our subsistence, ought to discourage us in. Let us all then, upon the consideration of the bounty of our benefactors, and that plentiful provision of books, the instruments of learning, as well as of a liberal maintenance, without our own sollicitude about it, which is the great encouragement to the same; let us, I say, look upon ourselves obliged both to a constant application to our studies; and, by all proper means, to the assistance and encouragement of those who do so likewise. That being the true welfare and happiness of a society for learning, when all the primary members of it do not only apply themselves to the improvement of their own, knowledge, but do all they can, that those, and only those, who, to their piety and good morals, have added diligence in their studies, and made the best progress in learning, may have encouragement and advancement in the society: and when desert and preferment constantly accom-

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pany one another in a college, then and only then, do we intirely secure the ends of a collegiate body, and take an effectual care that the same shall be secur'd for the future generations also. To conclude, God grant, that we may lead such pious and devout, such temperate and sober, such diligent and studious lives, in this religious society, instituted by our generous and bountiful benefactors, whom we are now to commemorate, that we may bring glory to God, and secure our own and others everlasting salvation, in the great day of the Lord *Jesus*. To whom, &c.

But to go on now with my other materials.

In the year 1692, Dr. *Bentley* preached Mr. *Boyle's* lectures; which, indeed, were the first that were preached; and, perhaps, are the most valuable of all that great critick's performances. Herein he demonstrated the Being and providence of God, from Sir *Isaac Newton's* wonderful discoveries, to such a degree of satisfaction, as to the scepticks or infidels themselves, that he informed me himself, of a club of such people, who had heard his sermons, and were asked by a friend of his, at his desire, What they had to say against them? they honestly owned, they did not know what to say. But added withal, what is this to the fable of *Jesus Christ*? Which made him say, that he doubted he had done harm to christianity by those sermons; as occasioning these scepticks or infidels to divert from their denial of a God and a providence, from which they might be always driven with great ease, to the picking up objections against the bible in general; which would certainly afford them a much larger field for contradiction. But this has been already related in my astronomical principles of religion, page 243.

Very soon after the preaching of these sermons it was, that Dr. *Bentley*, as he informed me himself,

self, went to bishop *Lloyd*, of whom he had then the greatest opinion, both as to his skill in chronology and the scriptures, and particularly in the scripture-prophecies; and this, in order to see, whether it might not be fit for him to insert some of his predictions from those prophecies into a preface to those sermons; that upon their completion they might be of service to christianity; upon some of which prophecies he also himself preached part of his second year's sermons; as his relation, who is now in possession of those sermons, as well as another friend of mine who heard some of them, have informed me; though he never printed them; the reason of which will appear by what follows. For, upon his application to the bishop, and the bishop's frank and open answers, he was so far from being satisfied, that he immediately began to suppose, that his disappointment arose from the sacred books of *Daniel* and the *Revelation* themselves, and not only from his own, or the bishop's misunderstanding them. He was offended, that the bishop understood a *day* in the prophecies to denote a *year* in their completion; as all expositors had done before him, and as the ancient language of prophecy plainly imply'd. [See *Essay on the Revelation*, 2d Edition, page 5—18.] Nay, so greatly was he offended at this interpretation, that he long afterward bluntly asked Sir *Isaac Newton* himself (with whom I had brought him acquainted about *A. D.* 1696.) who thus expounded the prophecies also, whether he could *demonstrate* the same. Sir *Isaac Newton* was so greatly offended at this, as invidiously alluding to his being a *mathematician*; which science was not concerned in this matter; that he would not see him, as Dr. *Bentley* told me himself, for a twelvemonth afterward. Nay, so far did he carry this matter, as to persuade the learned Mr. *Daubuz*, though in the way of banter only, but
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such a banter as Mr. *Daubuz* did not perceive, that he ought to demonstrate this exposition, not *a posteriori* only, as did others; but *a priori* also; which he injudiciously attempted to do, in the preface to his *Exposition of the Apocalypse*; which exposition yet, on account of the great critical sagacity of its author therein shewed, Dr. *Bentley* had in high esteem. He pretended also, that there had never been a version of *Daniel* made by the *Septuagint* interpreters; which yet is notoriously known to have been several times quoted by the most ancient fathers; altho' this was afterwards banished out of the church, by *Theodotion's* version. Nay, when Dr. *Bentley* was courting his lady, who was a most excellent christian woman, he had like to have lost her, by starting to her an objection against the book of *Daniel*, as if its author, in describing *Nebuchadnezzar's* image of gold, *Daniel* vi. to be 60 cubits high, and but 6 cubits broad, knew no better, than that mens height were 10 times their breadth, whereas it is well known to be not more than 6 times. Which made the good lady weep. While the statue, with a pedestal, might easily be 10 times high, even supposing it were a figure of a man; which yet is not at all in the text. It might be an idol standing on the top of a pillar; as there is, I remember, one in old *Persepolis*, as the cuts of it in one of our latter travellers demonstrates. He aimed also to pick a quarrel with some small niceties in *Daniel's* chronology; and supposed the book to have been written after the time of *Onias*, the high priest; and that this *Onias* was *Daniel's* *Messiah*; and the slaughter of this *Onias* at *Antioch* was the cutting off the *Messiah*. *Dan.* ix. 26. 2 *Maccabees* ii. 34, 35. In short, he was very desirous to get clear of the authority of the book of *Daniel*. Yet, when he was put in mind how our blessed Saviour expressly quoted this book,

as written by *Daniel* the prophet himself, *Matt.* xxiv. 9. *Mar.* xiii. 14. *Luke* xxi. 20 ; he told Dr. *Clarke*, from whom I had it, that at first this made his *Hairs stand an End*: but that at last he pretended that was done only *ad hominem*, as we speak ; or by way of condescension to the *Jewish* prejudices. He also tried to run down the *Apocalypse*, as not written by the apostle *John* ; tho' I told him it agreed to his own character of St. *John's* stile, which he had observed to have much fewer particles of connection, such as εἰ, δὲ, γὰρ κ. τ. λ. than the other evangelists. He also talked ludicrously of this author's *heads and horns*. And he also tried to find some persons or times to which the author might allude ; as he had fancied of *Onias* for *Daniel*. However, he confessed, that he had not then been able to do it, but hoped he should find it some other time. These accounts I had from his own mouth. But what he said of *Isaiah's* naming *Cyrus* so long before he was born, viz. that he supposed it an interpolation, I had at second-hand from a learned bishop: But it so exactly agrees with what I had from his own mouth, concerning *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*, that I have no doubt of the truth of it. Nor need any one hereafter wonder at Dr. *Bentley's* *Scepticism*, as to both the *Old and New Testament*. But take notice, that I only say *Scepticism*, not *Infidelity*. For I take the evidence for the truth of the *Bible* to be so prodigiously strong, in all original authors, that no persons, so learned as Dr. *Bentley* and Dr. *Hare*, can, I believe, by any temptation, proceed further than *Scepticism*: How much farther soever comparatively ignorant and unlearned writers, I mean, such as *Collins*, *Tindal*, *Toland*, *Morgan*, and *Chubb*, may have proceeded in their grosser degrees of infidelity.

As to Dr. *Bentley's* grand dispute with Mr. *Boyle*, and his learned friends at *Oxford*, about
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the epistles of *Phalaris*, which was esteemed then so important, that the great bishop *Lloyd* was drawn into the chronological part of it; and which then made a mighty noise in the world; I cannot but wonder, that any serious clergymen should satisfy themselves to divert from their sacred employment, and enter into such useless and trifling speculations. Laymen, I allow it, may divert themselves as well with such literary amusements, as with hunting, or hawking: but for clergymen, who are to *give themselves wholly* to sacred matters, 1 *Tim.* iv. 15. *To avoid foolish and unlearned questions, knowing that they do gender strifes.* 2 *Tim.* ii. 23. How they can satisfy their consciences in so doing, *if they be in earnest in their religion*, is hard, exceeding hard, to say.

If any wonder, that I added Dr. *Hare* to Dr. *Bentley*, as a kind of sceptick, I shall give my reasons for so doing. Tho' when I first published my *Essay on the Revelation*, Dr. *Hare* greatly attended to it (which essay had also preserved a courtier, a friend of mine, from infidelity for a great while; and which, among other books upon the prophecies, had intirely recovered the late lord *Abercorn*, a considerable member of the Royal Society, from his scepticism or infidelity; as he fully owned to me himself long before his death:) yet did Dr. *Hare* so accustom himself to talk ludicrously of sacred matters; (which Mr. *Rundle* greatly complained of to me, when I first introduced him to Dr. *Cannon* and his acquaintance.) He was for laying wagers about the fulfilling of scripture-prophecies, in the same ludicrous way: nay, when he wrote about the difficulties and discouragements to the study of the scriptures, he could not forbear doing it after a ludicrous manner, tho' he seemed then to mean it very honestly: he was greatly familiar with Dr. *Cannon*, one of the greatest scepticks that ever was

born. He put such a slight upon our most authentick historian *Josephus*, in the preface to his psalms, which hardly any but such scepticks ever do. Nay, he once blabb'd out to me, that grand secret which I suppose *Dr. Cannon* had asserted: viz. that "He feared Christ and his apostles were
 " so weak, as to depend on the double sense of
 " prophecies for the truth of christianity:" such as *Grotius*, and all our late modern commentators admit of; and which even such still later learned men as bishop *Chandler*, and *Dr. Clarke*, made use of; till I, upon Sir *Isaac Newton's* original suggestion, shewed them the contrary. It now fully appearing, that such foolish expositions were so far from being used in the first or second centuries, that they are no older than the fourth; and were indeed mainly introduced by the learned *Jerome*, in order to apologize for some knavish quotations of his out of his *Hebrew* copies. [See *Sacred History of the New Testament*, page 334, 335.] And I well remember, that when I once told *Dr. Hare*, that I feared *Dr. Cannon* had made him a sceptick, his reply was, That he was not so great a sceptick as *Dr. Cannon*. No, said I, you are a better scholar: for as *Dr. Cannon* thought mathematicks themselves, with Sir *Isaac Newton's* philosophy built thereon, to be uncertain, as being no mathematician himself; *Dr. Hare* being a pretty good mathematician, could not go so great a length with him. But as for *Dr. Cannon*, he was so thorough a sceptick in religion, that had not my lord *Townshend* prevailed with him to the contrary, he was once resolved to have cast off his gown and cassock; and refused to have allowed himself to be a clergyman any longer; yet would he join with the church in signing the thirty-nine articles, without believing them, as legal qualifications for preferment only, and join with the *Athanasian* creed
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itself in the cathedral at *Ely*, at a time when I was there and refused it. I asked him, How one that believed so very little could join in a thing so absurd; his answer was, *What is one man's meat, is another man's poison*. He also told Mr. *Jackson*, that if he were at *Paris*, he would declare himself a roman catholick; and if he were at *Constantinople*, he would declare himself a *mussulman*, as taking religion to be an engine to promote peace in this world, rather than happiness in the next. He was ready to wonder at Mr. *Jackson* for believing *St. Paul* before himself, when they were of contrary sentiments. So great an opinion had he of his own sagacity. Yet, when he came to write a small pamphlet about the convocation, of which he was a member, it appeared to be a very contemptible performance: which opinion of mine, when I plainly told him, he had little to say in his own justification. Only so much justice I must do him, that, when bishop *Trimnell*, my old intimate friend, and Dr. *Cannon*, with whom I had long had great acquaintance, and from their natural tempers, I thought the former would endeavour to save me from publick censure and punishment, when I was persecuted; and the latter would be severer upon me; the reverse proved true. Nor could bishop *Trimnell*, the grossest tritheist that I ever knew, bear one that was supposed to be an *Arian*, notwithstanding the latter doctrines were very strongly supported, and the former utterly condemned by all christian antiquity.

Soon after archbishop *Tillotson's* death, 1694, died that most excellent lady queen *Mary*. Bishop *Burnet*, in the history of his own times, says, that
 “ king *William* then turned himself much to the
 “ meditations of religion, and to secret prayer :
 “ that the new archbishop (*Tenison*) was often and
 “ long with him; and that he entered into so-

“ solemn and serious resolutions of becoming in all things an exact and an exemplary christian.” But he gives no particular instance of such solemn and serious resolutions. I can give a remarkable one, that tends greatly to the honour of both the king and the archbishop, which I had then from my patron bishop *Moor*; who was one of those sorrowful company of bishops, of whom bishop *Burnet* speaks a little before, who attended her in her receiving her last communion. It was this; there was a court lady, the lady *Villers*, with whom it was well known king *William* had been too familiar, and had given her great endowments. Upon the queen’s death, the new archbishop, whether as desired by the queen before her death, or of his own voluntary motion, I do not know; took the freedom, after his loss of so excellent a wife, to represent to him, the great injury he had done that excellent wife by his adultery with the lady *Villers*. The king took it well, and did not deny his crime, but faithfully promised the archbishop he would have no more to do with her. Which resolution I believe he kept; I having heard another way that this lady wondred she could never see that king after the queen’s death. Now for an attestation to this history, the bishop added, that the archbishop’s sermon concerning *holy resolution*, which was preach’d in the king’s lodgings at *Kensington*, before he appeared publickly, was design’d particularly to confirm him in that resolution of never seeing her more: It is in print; and, to an attentive reader, upon this key, will appear to agree very well with the foregoing circumstances.

But having now mentioned two such eminent and learned men, as Dr. *Bentley* and Dr. *Hare*, it will not be amiss to relate what hand they had in some great affairs of learning in their time, wherein

wherein I was also deeply concerned myself, and particularly with relation to the apostolical constitutions, by me first introduced to publick notice; and to the harmony of the four evangelists, by me a little earlier determined to include above four years. As to the former, the apostolical constitutions, when Dr. *Bentley*, was about to peruse them, upon my first proving them to be genuine, he pretended to me, that he would *cut the grass from under my feet*, as his expression was, and prove them to be spurious: I reply'd, master, you will not write against me upon that head; for when you examine them you will find them to be genuine. Accordingly, when he had, in some measure, examined them, he gave this for his opinion; that some things in them he could correct as a critick; but that for other parts, they were *ab ultimâ antiquitate*. Nor did Dr. *Hare* (who had procured for Dr. *Grabe* and me, the collation of two *Vienna* MSS. of the constitutions, by that very good man Mr. *Anderson*, then our ambassador's chaplain at *Vienna*, and afterwards rector of *Lutterworth*; and one who seemed still to suppose them genuine :) nor did Dr. *Hare*, I say, appear to me ever to deny their being so; altho' neither were Dr. *Bentley*, nor Dr. *Hare* firm believers enough, nor serious enough in christianity, to hazard any thing in this world, for their reception. And as to the latter, the harmony of the four evangelists, Dr. *Bentley* had of old revived, from his own perusal of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* (not pretending the same of *John*,) that *Valentinian* notion, that our Saviour preached only one year; and this in the days of archbishop *Sharp*; whom I have heard speak of it with concern. This notion, I say, came first from Dr. *Bentley*, to Dr. *Hare*, and from him to his pupil, Mr. *Nicolas Mann*, now master of the *Charter-House*; who being unacquainted whence it came, till I informed him of it; but a per-

son of very good learning, and sagacity, managed the hypothesis so well, that I once told the bishop of *Durham*, he had demonstrated an impossibility, as well as an impossibility could be demonstrated. And which yet I thoroughly confuted from *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, as well as *John*, afterward. See that confutation at the end of my *VI. Dissertations*, page 347—355, of which hereafter. Dr. *Hare* also, about the end of queen *Anne's* reign, wrote a most remarkable paper, that sold greatly, intituled “ The difficulties and discouragements which attend the study of the scriptures, in the way of private judgment. In order to shew, that since such a study of the *scriptures* is mens indispensable duty, it concerns all christian societies to remove (as much as possible) those discouragements”. This was done in such a seeming ludicrous way, that the convocation fell upon him, as if he were really against the study of the scriptures. And he finding this paper rather an hindrance to the preferment he soon after was seeking for, aimed to conceal his being the author, which yet every body was satisfied he really was. I mention that pamphlet in this account of my own life particularly, because he there introduces me, as well as Dr. *Clark*, and gives both our characters. Mine is in the words following, at large.

“ There are, says this author, two clergymen of the town, who have studied themselves into *Heresy*, or at least into a *suspicion* of it. Both of them men of *fair, unblemished characters*. One has all his life been cultivating piety and virtue, and good learning; rigidly constant himself in the publick and private duties of religion; and always promoting in *others* virtue, and such learning as he thought would conduce most to the honour of God, by manifesting the greatness and wisdom of his works. He has given the
“ world

“ world sufficient proofs that he has not mispent
 “ his time, by very useful works of *philosophy*, and
 “ *mathematicks*, he has apply’d *one* to the expli-
 “ cation of the *other*; and endeavour’d, by both,
 “ to display the glory of the great Creator: and
 “ to his study of nature, he early joined the study
 “ of the *scriptures*; and his attempts, whatever
 “ the success be, were at least well meant; and,
 “ considering the difficulty of the subjects he was
 “ engaged in, it must be allowed, that, in the
 “ main, they are *well aimed*; and if he has not
 “ succeeded, no more have others who have med-
 “ dled with the same subjects; nor is he more to be
 “ blamed than they. To be *blamed* did I say? I
 “ should have said, not less to be *commended*: for
 “ sure ’tis a *commendable* design to explain scripture-
 “ difficulties, and to remove the objections of pro-
 “ fane men, by shewing there is nothing in the
 “ sacred writings but what is true and rational.

“ But what does a life thus spent avail? To
 “ what purpose so many watchful nights and
 “ weary days? so much piety and devotion? so
 “ much mortification and self-denial? such a zeal
 “ to do good, and to be useful to the world? so
 “ many noble specimens of a great genius, and a
 “ fine imagination? ’Tis the poor man’s misfor-
 “ tune (for poor he is, and like to be; not having
 “ the least preferment) to have a warm head,
 “ and to be very zealous in what he thinks the
 “ cause of God. He thinks prudence the worldly
 “ wisdom condemned by Christ and his apostles;
 “ and that ’tis gross prevarication and hypocrisy
 “ to conceal the discoveries he conceives he has
 “ made. This heat of temper betrays him into
 “ indiscreet expressions, and hasty assertions; de-
 “ signing to hurt no body, he fancies no body
 “ designs to hurt him; and is simple enough to
 “ expect the same favourable allowances will be

“ made to *him*, that he sees made to those who
 “ write against him. As to his learning; ’tis his
 “ misfortune that he is not skilled enough in the
 “ learned languages to be a critick in them; and
 “ yet seems not to be sensible of his deficiency in
 “ this respect: and what advantage is taken of
 “ this, that he has not *less heat*, and more *criticism*?
 “ His learning is treated in that manner, that
 “ you would think he did not know the first ele-
 “ ments of *Greek*; tho’ even in that he is much
 “ superior to most of those who make so free with
 “ him: and you every day hear his performances
 “ run down as whimsies and chimæras, by men
 “ who never *read* them; and if they did, could
 “ not *understand* them: nor does his *warmth of*
 “ *temper* come off better; ’tis all *obstinacy*, *pride*,
 “ and *heretical pravity*; a want of *modesty*, and
 “ due *deference* to just authority: they that speak
 “ most favourably, look upon him as *craz’d*, and
 “ little better than a *madman*. This is the poor
 “ man’s character; and, low as he is, they can-
 “ not be content to leave him quiet in his po-
 “ verty. Whereas, had he not been early possess’d
 “ with a passionate love for the scriptures, and
 “ philosophy; had he not thought it his duty,
 “ above all things, to promote the *glory of God*,
 “ and been persuaded that could be no way so well
 “ done as by the study of his *word* and *works*;
 “ ’tis more than probable he had at this time been
 “ *orthodox*: and then, instead of his present treat-
 “ ment, his faults would have been overlook’d;
 “ the learning he excels in would have been ex-
 “ toll’d; and no defect would have been found in
 “ other parts of it: he would have been cried up
 “ as an ornament of the age, and no preferment
 “ would have been denied or envied him.”

Dr. *Clarke*’s character follows at large also, but
 need not be here repeated; as already by me in-
 serted

serted into my *Memoirs of his Life*, first edition, page 167, 168.

As for Dr. *Hare's* scepticism in religion, I was so thoroughly apprized of it, that I once observed to bishop *Sherlock*, when the doctor had preached, and printed, and I had read a sermon of his for the reformation of manners, what an exceeding good sermon it was, *if he were in earnest*; the bishop replied, do you doubt of that? I said, that was my principal doubt of all: nor will those that take notice of the behaviour of many of our clergy, especially of those that are seeking preferment at court, how different it is *in* the pulpit, from what it is *out* of it; be without strong suspicions as to their being *in earnest*, when they are in the former place.

Nor is it very easy to be believed, that at this time of day, those who have any knowledge of primitive christianity, and yet continue publickly to read the curses upon the christians, contained in the *Athanasian* creed, are really *in earnest* believers of the christian religion; let them preach or write never so plausibly for it. *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?*

But now I have been speaking of Dr. *Bentley*, I must give some account how so great a man, and one sent on purpose by six eminent bishops, to whom king *William* had committed the disposal of many of the ecclesiastical preferments in the gift of the crown, to restore discipline and learning in *Trinity* college, and by consequence, in good measure, in the university of *Cambridge* also; and who, for about four years, did endeavour it to an eminent degree, came afterwards to act so ill, as to be accused before two successive bishops of *Ely*, bishop *Moor*, and bishop *Green*; and, in effect, ordered to be expelled by them both for male-administration, which he escaped with great difficulty: (after having exposed himself farther in a strange manner,

manner, both in *Westminster-Hall*, and in the house of lords) and that by only certain niceties of law, and ambiguity of statutes. Now, tho' I knew a great deal of all those matters, and was sometimes deeply concerned in opposing his irregular proceedings, and in endeavouring in vain to bring him to a better temper; yet, because this does not so immediately concern myself, and would take up too much room in these memoirs, I shall wave the rest, and only relate here what I take to have been the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, or *first Beginning* of his unhappy management, which I was myself a witness to. I always compare this his proceeding to the pythagorick Y, where the ascent from the bottom is direct and unexceptionable, till you come to the divarication of the two lines; whence *Virtue* proceeds strait on to the right hand, and *Vice* to the left; and where, tho' at first the distance of the lines be very small, and easily stepp'd over, yet does it, after a while, become too large for any step whatsoever. Now, Dr. *Bentley*, as I have already intimated, for about four years, had proceeded up the bottom stem very directly, and had examined every candidate for scholarships and fellowships thoroughly, and seemed as near as possible to have given every one the place he really deserved: but at an election for fellowships, about 1703, or 1704, he ventured for *once* only, as he said, to recede from that excellent rule, *detur Digniori*; and gave a fellowship to one whom he confessed to be inferior in learning to his antagonist; tho' it being a new thing with him, he did it with reluctance. The reasons he gave for doing so this once, he told me, were these two; the one, that Mr. *Stubbs*, the less deserving, was nephew to Dr. *Stubbs*, professor of the *Hebrew* tongue in the university, and vice-master of the college, who was so rich, that he *could* give the college 10,000*l.* (tho', by the way,

I never heard that he gave it one groat.) The other reason was, that if he made Mr. *Stubbs* fellow, his uncle would probably be his fast friend at all future elections; and by that means he could, in a manner, govern them all as he pleased. Upon these two considerations he ventured to chuse Mr. *Stubbs*, against a more deserving candidate, and so to break in upon his integrity; and, I think, he never after returned to it: which, as it was of the most fatal consequence to that college, so did the master find it very unhappy to himself also: for Mr. *Stubbs* not only proved a vile man, to his great disreputation, but he, together with his uncle, came before the bishop of *Ely* (bishop *Moor*) in open court, to be witnesses against him, in order to his expulsion. Hence we may all learn that old maxim, *Principiis obstare*, and never to begin to do an unjust or wicked thing; which I have heard was the excellent advice of the lord chief justice *Hales*, to the lord *Nottingham*, when he was made lord chancellor; lest it end at last as fatally as did Dr. *Bentley's*.

And now I am upon Dr. *Bentley*, I shall farther take leave to mention somewhat that all truly great men ought to guard against, in the strongest manner; I mean *Flattery*; concerning which he told me this remarkable story. A city divine, of good desert, and preferment, but wanting still *more preferment*, applied himself to the great bishop *Stillingfleet*, to whom Mr. *Bentley* was then chaplain, for his recommendation; which was then of the highest value at court: in order to which this divine was overheard by Mr. *Bentley*, flattering the bishop at an extravagant rate: "That his lordship's character was so extraordinary, that if it were right to have an universal bishop over the whole church, no man was so fit for it as his lordship." Upon which Mr. *Bentley* said, he could

could have kicked the clergyman down stairs, he had such an indignation at this gross flattery; yet did he still perceive, that the old man was pleased with it. Whence he gathered this conclusion, that “If you do but flatter enough, you conquer every body.”

And now, before I quite leave Dr. *Bentley*, and bishop *Stillingfleet*, I will add another thing which I also had from Dr. *Bentley* himself. Mr. *Halley* was then thought of for successor, to be in a mathematick professorship at *Oxford*; and bishop *Stillingfleet* was desired to recommend him at court; but hearing that he was a sceptick, and a banterer of religion, he scrupled to be concern'd; 'till his chaplain, Mr. *Bentley*, should talk with him about it; which he did. But Mr. *Halley* was so sincere in his infidelity, that he would not so much as pretend to believe the christian religion, tho' he thereby was likely to lose a professorship; which he did accordingly; and it was then given to Dr. *Gregory*: Yet was Mr. *Halley* afterwards chosen into the like professorship there, without any pretence to the belief of christianity. Nor was there any enquiry made about my successor Mr. *Sanderson*'s christianity, even when the university of *Cambridge* had just banished me for believing and examining it so thoroughly, that I hazarded all I had in the world for it.

In the year 1698, bishop *Moor* gave me the living of *Lowestoft cum Kessingland*, by the sea-side in *Suffolk*: I had here about 2000 souls under my inspection; where I set myself to do my duty, and really to take *curam animarum*, care of the souls that were now committed to me. I provided me a very good curate or assistant, Mr. *John Troughton*, who also taught a small school there; of which he made 25 or 30*l.* a year, besides the 30*l.* that I allowed him; while yet I could hardly promise myself clear above 120*l.* a year: the revenues then chiefly arising from the north-sea, herring
and

and mackrel-fishery : where my dues were *half a dole* out of every fishing-boat, which were usually about thirty in each : so that instead of *Tythes*, or the 10th part, I received only about one 60th of the product of the sea. I here set up publick prayers morning and evening every day, in a chappel within the town ; and therein, to encourage a more numerous and constant attendance, I used, after a while, besides a lesson out of the *New Testament*, that abridgment of the publick prayers, which had been before collected by some good man, and published, under the title of *The Common-Prayer-Book the best Companion*. Which when I informed bishop *Lloyd* of, he highly approv'd of what I had done, and ordered that book to be bought for him. I constantly preached twice a day at the church, which was three furlongs out of the town ; and all the summer season at least, I had a catechetick lecture at the chappel in the evening, design'd more for the instruction of the adult, than for the children themselves ; to which lecture the *dissenters* also would come, and by which I always thought I did more good than by my sermons. This method of catechizing was begun by me at bishop *Moor's* chappel at *Norwich*, for his children, and some others that desired to be my auditors there : nay, the bishop himself would come sometimes ; and approved of my lectures so well, that he once moved me to print them ; but I told him I could not do that ; for they were not written down, but spoken off-hand, from short notes, as a great part of my sermons at *Lowestoft* were also : which gained me time for my other more learned studies, without neglecting my cure : and by being naturally spoken in a more easy way, and more familiar stile, were generally more edifying and acceptable than elaborate, composed discourses ; which, in those of a learned education,

are

are not seldom quite above the level of ordinary capacities; such as the generality of our hearers must needs be. I also took care that my curate preached once a day at *Kessingland*, and once at *Corton*; a very poor neighbouring ignorant village, of hardly any revenues, and formerly abandoned to diversions on the Lord's days: while every month I gave them of *Kessingland* a sermon myself, in the morning, and a catechetick lecture in the afternoon. I also, a little, tried there to instruct the private families on week days at home, but found their heads and hands so engaged, about their husbandry, that I could only do it in the evenings of lord's days, when they were more at leisure: but I was soon recalled to *Cambridge*, to be Sir *Isaac Newton's* deputy, and afterward his successor, in the beginning of this century, when I resigned my living, so I shall not enlarge farther on my behaviour in that place.

I shall only add to what is in my life of Dr. *Clarke* (page 9. 1st. edit.) these two facts which I well remember to have happened to me, while I lived at *Lowestoft*. The parish-officers came once to me to desire me to set my hand to a licence, for setting up a new alehouse in *Lowestoft*, the justices, it seems, paying that compliment to the town, as not to set it up without the consent of the minister, (and I suppose of the church-wardens also.) My answer was short, "If they would bring me a paper to sign to pull down an alehouse, I would certainly sign it; but would never sign one to set up an alehouse." At another time there came to me an order from Mr. *Bachelor*, who then acted in the ecclesiastical court as a deputy to Dr. *Pepper*, chancellor of *Norwich*, for reading an excommunication against a woman of my parish, who, it seems, had called another woman *whore*: these courts not being able to proceed, till such an excommunication is read in the parish-church:
upon

upon this, I went and enquired of the sober people in the neighbourhood, whether this imputation was believed to be true or false? The answer was, that “ the accuser might have kept her tongue between her teeth, yet they doubted the thing was too true.” I then wrote to Mr. *Bachelor*, that I was surprized to have an order for reading an excommunication against a poor woman, for speaking what the sober people in the neighbourhood thought to be true. His answer was, *Veritas Convitij non excusat conviciantem*, a maxim of the modern antichristian, but not of the ancient christian law; of which see my pamphlet of *Christian Discipline*, page 63, 64. However, I never did read that excommunication; nor do such ecclesiastical courts generally do other than overturn all good order in matters of religion; excepting it were under such an excellent chancellor as Dr. *Tanner*, afterward bishop of St. *Asaph*, who was disposed to use his power more for the real advantage of good order and discipline, than any other in that office within my knowledge; till the nicety of some law of the land spoiled his designs for any farther reformation.

In the year 1698-9 I wrote to bishop *Lloyd*, a true account of some late elections of fellows at Clare-Hall, Cambridge, just before I married and left the college; as I had written to him another letter in a like case. These elections were things of great consequence to the college at that time; and I was so deeply concerned in them, and, at last, so unworthily trick'd by some ill men there, that I could not forbear writing an account of them for the bishop: whether I sent it him I cannot now remember: It is however preserved, and fit to be known by the master and fellows of that college; to whom I shall be ready to communicate it at any time; altho' it be of too private a nature, and too long, to be published to all the world in this place.

However,

However, there were two persons (to say nothing of many others) so utterly ruined in my time in our college, for want of due encouragement to sobriety and virtue, and defect of college discipline, that I cannot forbear mentioning their cases, tho' without naming the persons; and I do it for a caution to the present and future members of that and other societies. The first example which I shall give some account of, was one of my own year: he came to the college with a sweetness of temper, a skill in oratory and poetry very extraordinary, and was accordingly very much beloved in the society: he came a sober youth, and so continued for his first year; but after that year, he fell into the acquaintance of a drinking sophister, who soon made him drink like himself: I then gave him a friendly caution, and told him, that if he did not take care, that sophister would be his ruin; as he was accordingly; for it is now, I suppose, above forty years since he could hardly bring a glass of wine to his mouth, his hand so trembled: yet was his company still so acceptable, that the youths, who were to stand for fellowships, by getting in with him, and drinking with him, endeavoured to make their way to our fellowships. One of which youths they killed, with a bowl of punch; and yet did he soon go with his other companions to the tavern, to drink *in piam Memoriam* of their friend whom they had just killed; till, in a little time, this fine youth himself died with drinking; which, tho' it did not kill him so soon as if he had stabb'd himself with a dagger, yet it did it as surely. The second example was one of the next year to us, and who came a good scholar, and had an excellent memory, and was sober for several years, and one of a triumvirate of sober men; of which I was one, and my friend Mr. *Laurence*, of whom hereafter, was another. Now this poor unhappy man
came

came at last to stand for a fellowship, soon after Mr. *Laurence* and I had been made fellows, and had by consequence with the fore-mentioned person of my year votes in that election. He thought at first that of the electors the major part were on the side of the drinkers; and accordingly forsook his sobriety, and for a month or six weeks drank hard with them at the tavern, till we that were his old sober friends saw it, and discarded him, and resolved to choose a better, because a more sober candidate, in his room, I mean Mr. *Troughton*, who was afterward my curate, as already mentioned. He at last found his mistake, and that the sober party were likely to be the majority, so he sorely repented of his debauchery, and tried earnestly to recover his old friends votes, but to no purpose. One circumstance was peculiar to myself, who, during this interval, was walking in the back walk of the college, or rather sitting down in one of the end seats: this unhappy man came to me there, and fell down on his knees to me, confessing that he had turned debauchee for preferment, as thinking that was the way then to it in *Clare-Hall*; but solemnly protesting, that if I would believe him, and give him my vote, he would ever afterward become a sober man, as he had been formerly. My answer was short, but such as cut off all his hopes. “ Sir, said I, you “ have confessed that you have sacrificed your integrity to your preferment, and thereby made it “ impossible for me to serve you.” After which, his opposite candidate, Mr. *Troughton*, was chosen, and he himself halted between sobriety and debauchery afterwards, and became at last one of the most miserable clergymen that I ever heard of. ’Tis a terrible state which the poet describes, *Videa meliora, proboque; deteriora sequor*. Which was the state of this poor man; whose amazing ill conduct

and misfortunes make me ready to weep when I think of him, because of our former friendship.

In the year 1702, I published my *second Book*, or *Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the four Evangelists*, 4to. Price 8 s.

In this *Chronology of the Old Testament* I entirely followed, at first, the *Masorete Hebrew* copy, and its numbers, which I then took to be the most authentick; but because, upon farther enquiry, I afterward intirely altered my mind as to that matter, and fully satisfied myself that the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, as well as *Josephus's* copy of the *Hebrew*, together with the *Septuagint* version, and the most authentick records of heathen antiquity, agree in a chronology that lengthens the interval since the deluge about 580 years, as is contained at large in my *Essay to restore the true Text of the Old Testament*, Prop. X, XI. and the *Chronological Table* thereto relating; with the VI. *Dissertations*, page 213—219. and the IVth *Dissertation*, prefixed to my *English Josephus*, page 64—71. and page 86, of all which hereafter. Whence this *Chronology* is to be corrected in any future edition.

Soon after the publication of this *Chronology* and *Harmony*, many friendly letters passed between the learned Dr. *Whitby* and myself; as also between a great friend of mine and fellow collegian, Mr. *Thomas Henckman* and myself, about the *Harmony*; which letters I have still by me; but as they are too long to be here inserted, and much light has been afforded me from the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and Monsieur *Toinard's Harmony*, and otherwise since that time, which partly appears in my corrected copy, I add no more about them in this place.

In *March* 1702-3, I published my *third book*, which was *Tacquet's Euclid*, with *Select Theorems of Archimedes*,

Archimedes, and with the addition of *Practical Corollaries*, in *Latin*; for the use of young students in the university. The second edition was printed at *Cambridge*, by *Mr. Crownfield*, for *Mr. Thurlborn*, and *Mr. Dickenson*, A. D. 1710. It was also put into *English* at *London*, from the second edition, under my own review. The price of my own edition in 8vo. was 4s. Now it was the accidental purchase of *Tacquet's* own *Euclid* at an auction, that occasioned my first application to the mathematicks, wherein *Tacquet* was a very clear writer.

On *November 27, 1703*, was that prodigious storm of wind, which our books and pamphlets were full of for a great while: now tho' I heard it with others, and was deeply affected with the power and providence of Almighty God who brought it; and yet stop'd its fury so much, that, comparatively, few persons were killed by it; while had its fury been one quarter, or, however, one half greater than it was, from which we knew of no natural restraints, whole cities and towns might have been utterly overthrown, and their inhabitants might almost all have perished. But what makes me mention it here is this, that the publick had then so extraordinary a collect of praise and thanksgiving sent about, when *Dr. Tenison* was archbishop, to be used for some time afterwards, with the most moving expressions of the deepest sense of the divine attributes, proper for such an occasion, that I ever remember in any *modern*, I had almost said, or even *ancient* composition whatsoever. Now I have very lately recovered this collect, by the means of the present archbishop of *Canterbury*, and shall exhibit the same, with the archbishop's letter to me, in due place hereafter. It is a very valuable monument of the piety of our church governors at that time, and a pattern for our governors hereafter; which I think

they have now more than ordinary occasion for, considering the very poor and jejune, but too court-like compositions of some of our modern forms of devotion on several occasions.

In the year 1704-5, *Jan. 25*, I preached at *Trinity church in Cambridge*, and soon after printed, a Sermon on 2 *Tim. iii. 15. And that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures; which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus*; upon occasion of the charity schools then lately erected there for three hundred poor children; and that principally by my own endeavours, as is acknowledged by Mr. *Worts*, jun. when, in his will, he left to those schools 30*l.* a year for ever: and I confess that my monthly day of catechizing about ninety of them, when I was their steward, seemed to me the best spent day of the whole month. There was added afterward, when I re-printed this sermon, among my *sermons and essays*, 1709, a particular account of the same charity schools: but as to my later correction of the *Doxology*, at the end of that sermon, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, *three Persons and one God*; and the noise that it made, more is said in the *History of my Prosecution*, elsewhere.

About this year 1705, Dr. *Plume* founded a new professorship for astronomy and experimental philosophy in the university of *Cambridge*. I was one of the electors. The two candidates were, a scholar of Dr. *Harris's*, whose name I have forgotten, and Mr. *Roger Cotes*, of *Trinity College*. I was the only professor of mathematicks directly concerned in the choice, so my determination naturally had its weight among the rest of the electors. I said, that I pretended myself to be not much inferior in mathematicks to the other candidates master, Dr. *Harris*; but confessed that I was but a child to Mr. *Cotes*; so the votes were unanimous for him.

A. D.

A. D. 1706. I printed my *Essay on the Revelation of St. John*, so far as concerns the past and present times; to which were then added, two dissertations, the one upon *Mark ii. 25, 26.* that *Abiathar*, and not *Abimelech*, was really the *Jewish* high-priest, when *David* eat the shew-bread: which notion was proposed by *Eusebius*, in his comment on the title of *Psalms xxxiii.* The other upon *Matthew xxiv.* and the parallel chapters, to distinguish what parts of our Saviour's discourse concerned the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and what parts concerned the day of judgment; together with a large collection of scripture prophecies relating to the times after the coming of the Messiah.

N. B. Tho' in my second edition of this Essay, 1744, which was greatly corrected and improved, I omitted these two dissertations, and collection of prophecies, for cheapness: and tho' *Beza's* copy intirely wants the name of *Abiathar*, in *Mark's* gospel, and thereby greatly weakens its authority; yet do I desire they may all three be re-printed in any new edition of that book, for the satisfaction of the curious.

In the year 1707, I published *Prælectiones Astronomicæ, Cantabrigiæ in scholis publicis habitæ. Quibus accedunt tabulæ plurimæ astronomicæ, Flamsteedianæ correctæ, Halliæ, Cassinianæ, et Streetianæ. In usum juventutis academicæ.* They were put into *English* afterward.

N. B. There were, by mistake, two astronomical tables omitted in the *Latin* edition, pag. 332, and 339. but they were added afterward to my *Prælectiones Physico-Mathematicæ*; pag. 366, 367. whence, in any future edition, they are to be taken and inserted here in their proper places. It must also be noted, that the calculation of the sun's place in lect. X. was made from the uncorrected table of Mr. *Flamsteed*, in Sir *Joras Moors*'s

System of the mathematicks, before I had amended them at Mr. *Flamsteed's* admonition. It must also be observed, that I hardly ever had patience, in any of my tables or calculations, to find the *seconds* nicely; as esteeming them very troublesome to find, and of very little consequence when they were found: however, since Dr. *Halley's* more accurate tables are now to be published, these need be printed no more; but all calculations ought to be taken from the other.

In the same year, 1707, I published, by the author's permission, Sir *Isaac Newton's Arithmetica Universalis*, or *Algebra*, from that copy which was laid up in the archives of the university, as all Mr. *Lucas's* professor's lectures are obliged to be, and where my own lectures were laid up accordingly: which *Algebra* had been nine years lectures of Sir *Isaac Newton's*; but because that acute mathematician Mr. *Machin*, professor of astronomy at *Gresham College*, (where I formerly read many lectures for him) and one of the secretaries of the royal society has published this work again, by the author's later desire or permission; I lay no claim to it. It has also been put into *English* from my edition printed at *London*.

N. B. Mr. *Cotes* and I began our first course of philosophical experiments at *Cambridge*, May 5, 1707. In the performance of which, certain hydrostatick and pneumatick lectures were composed; they were in number twenty-four; the one half by Mr. *Cotes*, and the other half by myself: which lectures were also afterward made use of in the like [enlarged] courses, which Mr. *Hauksbee* and I performed many years in *London*. Mr. *Cotes's* have been sometime ago published by his cousin and successor Dr. *Smith*, now master of *Trinity College, Cambridge*: but I esteem mine so far inferior to his, and many later books and courses relating

relating to such matters being become common, I cannot prevail with myself so much to revise and improve them, as they ought to be before they are fit for publication; so that I do not give any further account of them in this place. The present duke of *Argyle* took a copy of them long ago, when he had gone through our course, and I suppose has it still by him.

In the same year, 1707, I preached *eight sermons* at the cathedral church of *St. Paul*, at the lecture founded by the Hon. *Robert Boyle*, Esq; upon the *Accomplishment of scripture Prophecies*; with an *Appendix* to the same purpose: to which is subjoined, a *Dissertation* to prove that our Saviour ascended into heaven on the evening after his resurrection. . 8vo.

N. B. Upon any future edition, these lectures are to be printed from that corrected and improved copy which is inserted into the collection made 1736, of all the sermons that had then been preached at that lecture.

N. B. I made mention in these sermons, 1707, of the modern *French* prophets, who, at that time, made a great noise amongst us, with plain disapprobation of their pretences: and, about the year 1713, I held a conference at my house, (they are my words, *pag.* 68. of the first edition of my life of *Dr. Clarke*,) with *Mr. Lacy*, and several other of those prophets; wherein I gave my reasons why, upon supposition of their agitations and impulses being *supernatural*, I thought they were *evil* and not *good* spirits that were the authors of those agitations and impulses: where I also add, that the heads of the reasons I insisted on are still preserved: I shall here therefore add those heads in this place, as follows.

Reasons against the new prophets;

That their spirit is not the spirit of God.

H 4

(1.) They

- (1.) They father ridiculous things upon God.
- (2.) They are lying prophets, by foretelling events that have not come to pass.
- (3.) They falsely pretend to miracles.
- (4.) They permit sin; as in Mr. *Lacy's* adultery with *Eliz. Grey*.
- (5.) They misinterpret scripture.
- (6.) They think the scripture the rule of faith, contrary to all antiquity.
- (7.) They reject the use of reason.
- (8.) They make it impossible to discover false prophets.
- (9.) The quakers, &c. have equal pretences with them.
- (10.) Tho' some true prophets might not work miracles, nor foretel future events, yet they never then pretend to them, as these have done; so none were condemned for rejecting *John the Baptist*, because he wrought no miracles; and our Saviour says, *If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin.*
- (11.) Wild agitations are rather signs of dæmoniacal possessions, than of a prophetick afflatus.
- (12.) They are unable to explain any difficult scripture prophecies.
- (13.) They entertain vulgar untrue notions in divinity; such as the *Athanasian* trinity; the imperfect canon of scripture, &c.
- (14.) The old prophets were owned for true, by their very enemies; and so had either certain credentials of their own, or were attested to by others that had such credentials, &c. But 'tis not so here.

At last I took Mr. *Lacy* by the hand, and said to him, and his companions, *I hope you are honest; but I am satisfied you are very weak:* which is what I would say to our present enthusiasts also.

Nor

Nor was the great bishop *Lloyd's* opinion of the *French* prophets to be despised, who called this pretence of theirs, *the devil's banter*; by their folly to bring the true scripture prophecies into contempt.

N. B. Mr. *John Westley*, one among the present *Methodists*, having already freed himself from the folly of Calvinism; having written for the observation of the old *Wednesday* and *Friday* stations, in which I gave him my assistance long ago; having also preached and printed an excellent sermon before the university of *Oxford*, and having lately shewed somewhat of a true christian temper, in unsaying what he had heard about Mr. *Emlyn*. I hope he will, at last, leave off his *athanasian* follies, and come intirely into old christianity.

About *August*, in the year 1708, as is noted in my *Historical Preface*, pag. 55, 56, I drew up a small imperfect *Essay upon the Apostolical Constitutions*, and offered it to Dr. *Lany*, our vice-chancellor, for his licence, to be printed at *Cambridge*, but he refused to licence it.

In this year, 1708, my great friend Mr. *Pierce*, near whom I had formerly lived in intimate friendship at *Cambridge*, and who was really the most learned of all the dissenting teachers that I had known; but was at this time a preacher at *Newberry* in *Berkshire*, heard that I was become an heretical *Eusebian*, or *Arian*; so he wrote me the following letter, in the way of a true friend, and a good scholar, but a zealous *Athanasian*.

Newberry, July 10, 1708.

Dear Sir,

IN several companies in *London*, (from whence I returned last week) I met with a most displeasing account of you; but it being from persons altogether

together unacquainted with you, I thought it the part of a friend not to give credit to it ; and therefore did endeavour to quash that kind of discourse, and alledg'd, what I thought rendered it improbable : but casually meeting with a common friend of ours, I was forc'd to believe, what was so much against my inclination. I need not apologize to you, that I use this liberty of writing to you upon that subject. It is the part of friends to deal freely with one another ; and, especially, when any thing is observed, that allays the pleasant remembrance of former conversation.

If I should urge you with the circumstances which the unhappy notions you have lately entertained are like to bring you into, I could not promise myself that it would have any great influence upon you : for a generous mind will not be swayed thereby, contrary to its own apprehensions. Leaving then the consideration of worldly emoluments, which, tho' they may excite us to caution and deliberation, yet ought not to rule us, let me mind you of what I always judged to be your great aim and design, the doing good in the world : which, I conceive, will be much prejudiced thereby : and of this we on our side have had a very melancholy instance, in a person of great accomplishments for service, but now by such notions become wholly useless ; [I suppose he meant my great friend Mr. *Tha. Emlyn*] and it really grieves me to think, how much people will be prejudiced against your other writings, and particularly those on the *Apocalypse*, by this means. Bear with the freedom of a friend, who loves you as a brother. It is really amazing to me, that you should ever fall in with the *Unitarians* ; I should have thought you were most effectually secured against danger from that corner, by that one notion, which you formerly entertained, and which I think Dr. *Scot* has well established, that the God of
Israel,

Israel, of whom so many and great things are spoken in the *Old Testament*, is no other than the *λόγος*, who afterward became incarnate : I cannot apprehend how an *Unitarian* can hold this ; and it is plain that those, who in these later ages have opposed the deity of Christ, have much insisted upon our producing such great things spoken of Christ, as are in the *Old Testament* spoken of the God of *Israel* ; wherein they have, in my apprehensions, betrayed their own weakness. But you, my dear friend, that have been thoroughly convinced of that truth, let me ask you, how have you got off it ? or, how can you make it consist with your present scheme ? I understand you lay great stress upon the fathers of the two first centuries ; but why should you leave the sure rule for a fallible one ? I own a deference due to them ; but it seems unreasonable to me, to form our notions first from them, and then to strain the scriptures to speak their sense. Not that I think they favour your cause. I think it a plain end, that, as all the christian churches in the world do now, so they did then worship the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I will mention two places in *Justin Martyr's Apology*, both to the same purpose, but the one clearing the other from the popish gloss that would establish the worshipping of angels. In the third page of his second *Apology* we have these words, as an account of all christians. *Illum (Patrem) ipsiusq; Filium venientem et nos et exercitum bonorum angelorum sui sequacium et similium docentem, et spiritum propheticum adoramus et colimus.* About two pages after he expressly says, they worshipped the Father in the first, the Son in the second, and the spirit of Prophecy in the third place. Now in my apprehension, this declaration of the object of worship has great weight, and is of much greater force than any passages which may seem rather to express

expres the author's peculiar sentiment : for if this were the constant and universal practice of christians, what could it be built upon, but such principles as are held by the defenders of this blessed trinity? I think I could easily produce a great deal more from the most ancient writers ; but I have exceeded the bounds of a letter already : I shall therefore break off, when I have added, that it is my most earnest desire that God would lead us, and all his people, into all truth. I am,

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

J. PEIRCE:

Pardon my surmise, that you did not first ground your notions on the holy scriptures : I think it is not without foundation ; for while I liv'd near you, no man studied the scriptures more, and no man freer from those apprehensions. This makes me judge that somewhat else gave the first turn, which, in my judgment, was not sufficient.

But observe that the same Mr. *Peirce* had before shewed himself to me as a like zealous *Atbanasian* in the year 1706. For when he perused my *Essay on the Revelation* in MS. and found that I had in general affirmed, that our Saviour did not know some divine mysteries, and particularly the time for the day of judgment, till after his death and resurrection, in a plain way, without the addition of the usual words *in his Human Nature*, he would have no nay, but I must add those words : which I then did, by his over persuasion, against my own judgment. But since I have seen full reason to omit them, as he did himself afterward. Even somewhat after this time, he was so stanch an *Atbanasian*, that when at my recommendation he had read over that ancient and eminent book, *No-*
vatian

vatian D. Trinitate, and acknowledged, it favoured the same *Eusebians* or *Unitarians*, yet did he hold fast his *Athanasian* doctrine still. However, when the same Mr. *Peirce* came to *London*, soon after I had published my four volumes, which was in 1711; he met me, accidentally, at Mr. *Bateman's*, the bookseller's shop, in *Pater-noster-row*. I asked him whether he was reading my volumes? he confessed he was not; and began to make some excuses why he was not bound to read them. Upon this I spoke with great vehemence to him; "That a person of his learning, and acquaintance with me, while I had published things of such great consequence, would never be able to answer his refusal to read them to God and his own conscience." This moved him. He bought my books immediately, and read them, and was convinced by them to become an *Unitarian*, or *Eusebian*, as I was, and was persecuted for the same by the *Dissenters*, as I was by the church of *England* afterward.

In the year 1709, I printed *Sermons and Essays upon several Subjects*.

(1.) On the penitent thief.

(2.) The peculiar excellency of the christian religion.

(3.) The antiquity of the christian covenant. [which two last give, I think, more light to some disputes now on foot about *Moses's* law, and his omission of the sanctions of the rewards and punishments of the next world, in his legislation, than all that has been of late written upon that argument.]

(4.) Against the sleep of the soul.

(5.) Charity-schools recommended. This is the same sermon that was preached at *Trinity-Church*, *January 25th*, 1704-5, but now reprinted with the addition of a particular account of our charity-schools in *Cambridge*, of which already.

(6.) Upon

- (6.) Upon the several ascensions of Christ. [Reprinted and enlarged.]
- (7.) Upon the brethren and sisters of Christ.
- (8.) Reason and philosophy no enemies to faith.
- (9.) On the restoration of the *Jews*.
- (10.) Advice for the study of divinity: with directions for the choice of a small theological library.

N. B. When I first wrote the 8th discourse here set down, I passed by *Atherston*, a market-town in *Warwickshire*, where I stayed all night, with a very valuable friend of mine, Mr. *Shaw*, who was then a schoolmaster there; and whose worthy son was lately his successor. I left the paper with him for his perusal, that we might discourse of it in the morning: when he came to me, with a good deal of surprize, that I therein had declared I did not believe the proper eternity of hell torments: which he said was a subject he had written upon, for the satisfaction of a neighbouring gentleman, who made the doctrine of their eternity an almost insuperable argument against the christian religion. But my friend, said I, you wrote for that doctrine, I believe, because you thought it was contained in the *New Testament*; he confessed it was so; but Sir, said I, suppose I can shew you that this doctrine is not contained in the *New Testament*, will not that alter the case? he confess'd it would: upon which we got Dr. *Hammond's Discourse for that Eternity*, with a *Greek New Testament*, and the *Septuagint* for the *Old Testament*: when, in about two hours time, I demonstrated to him, that the words used about the duration of those torments in the *New Testament*, all over the *Septuagint*, whence the language of the *New Testament* was taken, did no where mean a proper eternity: which he confessed before I left him; and acknowledged that I had given him a freedom of

of thought in that matter, which he had not before. Of all which matters, see my own larger pamphlet upon that subject; of which hereafter. I also once talked with him about the *Athanasian* doctrine of the Trinity, and its absurdity: he told me he had not ventured to think upon that subject; and whether he afterward ventured to do it, I do not know. He was a very considerable man; and had he not been depressed by his confinement to the pastoral care, in two small neighbouring villages, *Badgley* and *Baxterly*, where I used sometimes to preach for him, together with the business of a school; I always thought him capable of being a considerable man in the learned world.

N. B. When the 10th discourse, or *Directions for the Study of Divinity*, came to be perused by Mr. Hallet, a dissenter, who kept an academy at *Exeter*, he was prodigiously pleased with them, and, with the highest compliments, desired some farther directions in that matter; but he withal cautioned me not to direct my answer to himself; for, as he intimated to me, “if it were known that he kept “correspondence with me, he should be ruined.” Such, it seems, was the zeal of our dissenting brethren at that time at *Exeter*: (of which my old friend Mr. *Peirce* partook plentifully afterward.) However, I having kept a copy of my *Reply*, I shall give it the reader presently, for his own instruction, as it was then written; tho’ some few things might be still corrected and improved.

(11.) To these 10 was added at first *Incerti Auctoris de regula Veritatis, sive Fidei: Vulgo Novatiani de Trinitate Liber*. But since my learned friend Mr. *Jackson* published, 1728, this excellent treatise, with very large and useful notes, while my edition had no notes at all; I desire this may be omitted in all future editions.

Camb. May 1, 1710.

S I R,

THO' I received your very kind letter some time ago, yet have I not been at full leisure to answer it till now. I am very glad that any of my books have given you, or any other honest christian, any light and satisfaction in your sacred enquiries. As I fully and thankfully own the goodness of God to me in blessing my studies, so far as any of his sacred truths are illustrated by them; so do I heartily desire that all other well disposed persons, would themselves go to the same fountains that I have recommended, and correct any occasional errors and mistakes I may have fallen into in matters of such importance. The ancient christian doctrine is plainly the same which the body of the christian church, even so low as the fourth century, maintained against the *Athanasian* heresy; and which the *Athanasians* would needs call *Arian*: without any other just occasion for such a title, but that she would not desert any christian truths, because *Arius* and his particular followers asserted them; nor would she peremptorily condemn the *Arians*, strictly so called, for some novel expressions, which yet she did not approve nor justify, because she was not fully satisfy'd of their being false. As to the method of your studies, *Varenius's Geography* will be very proper to be read for the doctrine of the sphere, and other things, before you come to my *Astronomy*. After which, bishop *Beveridge's Chronology* will be proper. After which, archbishop *Usher's Chronology* and *Annals* come in order, with my own *Chronology of the Old Testament*, and *Harmony of the Evangelists*. For geography, get the best scripture maps by you, particularly that in *Lamy*, and travel along the same all the way; and then alone read the descriptions, and search for the testimonies,

when

when you nicely examine that geography; which will not be necessary the first time. You are right as to the bishop of *Worcester's* Bible: 'tis now grown the common Bible in the larger editions. As to the method of common-placing in an inter-leav'd or interlin'd Bible, 'tis not difficult. Thus upon *Daniel's* weeks, *Dan.* ix. refer to the tenth hypothesis of my *New Theory*, where you have my learned friend Mr. *Allin's* proofs, that the old year was 360 days, which year I then thought to be us'd in those weeks, and to be the very key of that prophecy. Thus also upon *Gen.* iii. 15. Note all the places whence it appears that the Messiah was to have a mother, but not a father; as I have noted them in my *Boyle's Lectures*, page 92, 93. A little use will make you ready at this way: tho' I myself rather wish I had, than really have pursu'd it all along my studies. But if I were to begin again I should certainly do it. The original doxology, *Glory be to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, seems to mean thus, Glory be now, and ever given to the supreme God the Father, by the mediation of the Son, and assistance of the Holy Spirit.

I have now answer'd your particular questions, and hope that these small additions, join'd to my former larger directions, will be of use to you in your studies, and sufficient to set you in the right way in general: which, when you have made some progress in, you will be able to be your own guide in such matters. As to the dangers and persecutions I have expos'd myself to by my late writings, I knew my duty as a christian, and did resolve to hazard all in the world, rather than be unfaithful to the truths of *Christ*, or suffer the church to be any longer so grossly impos'd upon, as she has long been, by the writers of controversy, and the tyranny of antichrist. Yet, blessed be
I God,

God, I have been all along so providentially directed and preserved in this perilous undertaking, that my losses have been none at all from the publick, and my dangers soon over: so that I now esteem these sacred truths past danger of being suppress'd, and myself, in great part, past the danger of violence on their account. Tho', if God see fit, still farther to try me, *his will be done*. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, in Greek and in English, are now in the press; as will my *Essay* upon them soon be also. But my *Account of the Primitive Faith* will, I hope, come to a publick examination before it is printed. I suppose you have seen my imperfect *Essay on the Epistles of Ignatius*, which I am now compleating; and which, if not thoroughly answered, will gain all I contend for; especially when the *Apostolical Constitutions* themselves, so undoubtedly supported by them, appear more commonly among christians, and appear to be of equal authority with the four gospels themselves, as they really were in all the first times of the church. I pray God prosper your honest studies and endeavours, and make you an useful member of his church, and am,

Your very humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

About this year, 1710, *Menkenius*, a learned man in Germany, wrote to Dr. *Hudson*, the learned keeper of the *Bodleian* library at Oxford, to procure him an account of me; whose writings then made, as he said, a great noise in Germany. Dr. *Hudson* employ'd his darling pupil and relation Mr. *Fisher*, my late very good friend, and very useful justice of peace, at *Thirby* near *Bourn*, *Lincolnshire*, but now dead, to go to my patron bishop
Moor,

Moor, for a character of me, who, when he had given me a very good one, said, that "A very good man may be mistaken." Mr. *Fisher* asked his lordship, whether he would give him leave to use his name for my character: but he was unwilling to it. This account I had from Mr. *Fisher* himself.

Some time in the summer this year, 1710, or rather the foregoing year, 1709, it must have been, when my best friends began to be greatly affrighted at what they heard I was going about, both as to the *Eusebian Doctrine*, which then was universally called the *Arian Heresy*, which I had embrac'd; and as to the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which favoured that doctrine, and were by me fully asserted to be genuine. Two of them, Dr. *Laughton* and Mr. *Priest*, came together, in a way of kindness, to dissuade me from going on, and to represent to me the hazards and dangers I should bring upon myself and my family thereby. My reply was quick: "Dr. *Laughton* and Mr. *Priest*, you are my very good friends, you love me well, and I love you well; but as to what I am now about, I know you are both quite strangers to those matters, and so your arguments cannot influence me: but for myself, I have studied these points to the bottom, and am thoroughly satisfied the christian church has been long and grossly cheated in them; and, by God's blessing, if it be in my power, it shall be cheated no longer. And now I have told you this, you may as well persuade the sun (which then shone bright into the room where we were) to come down from the firmament, as turn me from this my resolution." Which firmness of mind soon put an end to their sollicitations.

The like resolute answer almost I made to Dr. *Bentley*, when he once came to me at *London*, upon

the convocation's falling upon me afterward, and aimed prodigiously to terrify me with their irresistible authority. After which, I was hardly assaulted any more in this way; and continuing to act boldly, according to my duty and conscience, enjoyed a great calm within; how roughly soever the waves and billows abroad seemed ready to overwhelm me. Nor do I remember that during all the legal proceedings against me, which lasted, in all, four or five years at *Cambridge* and *London*, I lost my sleep more than two or three hours one night on that account. This affords a small specimen of what support the old confessors and martyrs might receive from their Saviour, when they underwent such miseries and torments, as we should generally think unsupportable by human nature. But to proceed; as to myself, when I saw that it was not unlikely that I might come into great troubles, by my open and resolute behaviour in those matters, and resolving to hazard all in endeavouring to restore the religion of Christ as he left it; which I well knew what it was in almost every single point: I took particular notice of the martyrdom of *Poly-carp*; and learned that admirable prayer of his at his martyrdom by heart: and if it should be my lot to die a martyr, I designed to put up the same prayer, in the same circumstances; being satisfied that no death is so eligible to a christian as martyrdom, in case the preservation of his integrity and a good conscience make it necessary.

In this year 1710, I published a first very small imperfect *Essay on the Epistles of St. Ignatius*: But this was afterward greatly improv'd, and became a large dissertation, and is prefixed before these epistles in the first volume of my *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*; whither I refer the reader.

About the middle of the same year 1710, I wrote a small *Memorial* for setting up charity-schools universally

versally in *England* and *Wales* : It was presented to that society of which I was a member, called, *The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge* ; which had charity-schools under their care ; and was, I think, one of the oldest of those excellent societies, greatly promoted, if not first founded, by my dear friend Dr. *Thomas Bray*. This memorial was reprinted, and subjoined to what copies I had remaining of my *Primitive Infant Baptism Reviv'd*, of which presently.

Since I am fallen upon the mention of Dr. *Bray*, I cannot but recommend a small book lately published, by a nameless author, concerning him ; intitled, *Publick Spirit illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray, D. D. late Minister of Aldgate* ; which I was presented with, when I lately, at *Atherston*, met with Mr. *Shaw*, jun. and Mr. *Carpenter*, Dr. *Bray's* very worthy son-in-law, and successor in the pastoral care of *Sheldon*, near *Coleshill, Warwickshire*, and in the patronage of the best christian nobleman whom I ever knew, the good lord *Digby*. The contents of which book I can almost always attest to be true myself ; and have ever esteem'd Dr. *Bray*, not as one of the greatest abilities, but, by far, the most useful clergyman, and most indefatigable promoter of religion, and of those pious designs and societies which conduce thereto, that I ever knew ; whom I always honoured and assisted, both in the review of his catechetick lectures, and his other many charitable and christian attempts ; and heard him comforting himself with those numerous good works he had so heartily promoted near his own death. And I well remember, that he once said to me, when he was preparing to go as a missionary or commissary to the *West-Indians*, and expected a good income to be provided for his support there, “ Brother *Whiston*, “ if you will go with me, you shall go halves with

“ me in my profits.” But my ill health, and other circumstances, would not permit me to go with him: tho’ my heart and good wishes were ever with him. And I afterwards found that providence intended to make use of me for other very great purposes at home, I mean the restoration of Primitive Christianity, as it was left by our Saviour himself throughout the world; which end I still endeavour to pursue at this great age, and hope I shall ever pursue while I live in this world. And may the divine blessing attend my sincere endeavours! *Amen.*

However, upon occasion of this mention of Dr. *Bray*, I must be allowed to take notice of a fact or two in which he was concern’d. The very learned Mr. *Mason* had been at *Hanover*, in his travels, some time before the succession of that family to our crown; and when he came back, Dr. *Bray* happened to be with him, and observed to him, how happy and religious our nation would be, when the house of *Hanover* came! Upon which Mr. *Mason*, who had seen what such courts were in *Germany*, as well as in *England*, told him, “ Matters of religion would “ not be mended when that family came hither,” which made Dr. *Bray*’s blood then rise in indignation against him. Yet when that family had been here some years, the good doctor was forced to alter his mind; and too sadly to acknowledge the truth of Mr. *Mason*’s melancholy prediction.

At another time, in king *George I*’s reign, a great noise was made about a club at court, called the *Hell Fire Club*; and it was said that a maid of honour to the princess of *Wales* was one of them. Whereupon, discoursing with Dr. *Bray* about that matter, who with all good men had such enormities in the utmost detestation: [tho’ by the way this demonstrated but too plainly the truth of Mr. *Mason*’s prediction.] I told him, that I knew Dr.

Harris,

Harris, the chaplain to the then prince of *Wales*, now our sovereign, whom I took to be an honest man; and would speak to him about it. It being naturally the chaplain's duty to take cognizance of such scandals in their own families. The doctor reply'd, "*Dr. Harris expects preferment*, you " must therefore take care of it yourself." I allow'd this hint, which at first I had not thought of, was proper: accordingly I waited myself on the lady *Gemmingen*, who was with the princess, and whose brother was my scholar in the mathematicks, because the princess of *Wales* then lay-in, and I could not directly come at her royal highness. I then informed her of the story, on purpose that she might inform the princess, which she did: but upon enquiry, no-body would confess themselves guilty: tho' the thing at that time was but too notorious. Only some stop was, I suppose, put to that infamous club for that time. But O, what a sad, but prevalent topick am I now come to! *The Expectation of Preferment: More Preferment!* the grand thing commonly aimed at both by clergy and laity; and generally the utter ruin of virtue and religion among them both! poison, sweet poison; first poured upon the church by *Constantine the Great*, and greedily swallowed, both by papists and protestants, ever since. But blessed be God who hath given me, instead of that sweet poison, *Agur's* admirable wish: *Neither poverty nor riches: But hath fed me with food convenient for me.* Prov. xxx. 8. *Dr. Barrow* may have confuted the pope's supremacy, beyond the possibility of a reply: but the popes will still exercise that supremacy, and the *Romanists* submit to it, without any scruple notwithstanding. *Dr. Newton* may have proved the unlawfulness of pluralities of cures and non-residence, to the utmost satisfaction of every impartial reader; but the

clergy, whether bred up in the church of *England* originally, or brought over from the dissenters, will seldom scruple taking as many cures as they can compass, or the law of the land, with the utmost stretch, will allow them notwithstanding. Tho' it be very plain that the christian religion does not permit clergymen to raise families out of the revenues of the church. See my *Account of Christian Discipline*, page 57, 58. and *Life of Dr. Clarke*, page (first edition) 160—163. Nor even as to temporal dignities and revenues, does it appear to me, either that any of the *Jewish* governors, who were raised up by God, such as *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Samuel*, before they extorted a king from him, to their own great mischief, had any allowance from the publick at all. Nor indeed that, after their return from *Babylon*, their governors had any more than forty shekels or half-crowns a day, *i. e.* hardly one thousand eight hundred pound a year, besides a table kept for their family. *Nehem.* v. 14, 15. Nay indeed, it does not appear to me, that that *Civil List*, as we call it, or those courtiers who procure the greatest places for themselves, are at all happier than those in a lower station of life. And a great concern it is to see, so many both of the clergy and laity, made poor and miserable, only to pamper a few such as are not made one jot more happy than they would otherwise have been. Nor do the residentiaries and rich prebends in cathedral churches, all founded under popery, except when they are given, as they ought all to be, to poor vicars or curates, that really labour in the vineyard of *Christ*, and really want them, as they seldom are, do any thing else, than give clergymen a pretence for non-residence on their own cures; and accustom them to an higher way of living than they would otherwise have been contented with, nay, sometimes shorten the lives of the possessors.

And

And that the reader may be apprized of the little advantage that accrues to religion or learning from such prebends in the cathedrals, which are among the principal of our church preferments; I mean after our bishopricks and deanaries, and archdeaconries; take this most remarkable letter of archbishop *Cranmer's* to the lord *Cromwell*, extant in *Bp. Burnet's History of the Reformation*, records for Vol. III. N^o. 65, as follows, *verbatim*.

A letter of Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury to Cromwell, upon the new foundation of Canterbury.

AN ORIGINAL.

My very singular good lord,

AFTER my most hearty commendations, these shall be to advertise your lordship, that I have received your letters dated the 27th day of *November*, and therewith a bill concerning the devise for the new establishment, to be made in the metropolitan church of *Canterbury*: by which your lordship requireth my advice thereupon, by writing, for our mutual consents. Surely, my lord, as touching the books drawn, and the order of the same, I think that it will be a very substantial and godly foundation: nevertheless, in my opinion, the prebendaries, which will be allow'd 40*l.* apiece yearly, might be altered to a more expedient use. And this is my consideration; for having experience both in times past, and, also, in our days, how the said sect of prebendaries have not only spent their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous belly-cheer, I think it not to be a convenient state or degree to be maintained and established. Considering, first, that commonly a prebendary is neither a learner, nor a teacher, but a good viander, then,

then, by the same name, they look to be chief, and to bear all the whole rule and preheminance in the college where they be resident: by means whereof the younger, of their own nature, given more to pleasure, good cheer, and pastime, than to abstinence, study, and learning; shall easily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the same prebendaries, being their heads and rulers: and the state of the prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men hath been admitted unto such room, many times they have desisted from their good and godly studies, and all other virtuous exercise of preaching and teaching. Wherefore, if it may so stand with the king's gracious pleasure, I would wish that not only the name of a prebendary were exiled his grace's foundations, but also the superfluous conditions of such persons. I cannot deny but that the beginning of prebendaries was no less purposed for the maintenance of good learning and good conversation of living, than religious men were: but forasmuch as both be gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offender with the other, it maketh no great matter if they perish both together: for to say the truth, it is an estate which *St. Paul*, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the church of *Christ*. And I assure you, my lord, that it will better stand with the maintenance of christian religion, that in the stead of the same prebendaries were twenty divines, at ten pound apiece, like as it is appointed at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and twenty students in the tongues and *French*, to have ten marks apiece. For if such a number be not there resident, to what intent should so many readers be there? and surely it were great pity, that so many good lectures should be there read in vain. For

as for your prebendaries, they cannot attend to apply for making of good cheer. And as for your twenty children in grammar, their master and their usher be daily otherwise occupied in the rudiments of grammar, than that they have space and time to hear the lectures. So that to these good lectures is prepared no convenient auditory. And therefore, my lord, I pray you let it be considered, what a great loss it will be to have so many good lectures read without profit to any, saving to the six preachers. Farther, as concerning the reader of divinity and humanity, it will not agree well, that one man should be reader of both lectures: for he that studieth in divinity, must leave the reading of prophane authors, and shall have as much to do as he can, to prepare his lecture to be substantially read: and, in like manner, he that readeth in humanity had not need to alter his study, if he should make an erudite lecture. And there, in mine opinion, it would be office for two sundry learned men. Now concerning the dean and others to be elected into the college, I shall make a bill of all them that I can hear of in *Cambridge, Oxford*, or elsewhere, mete to be put into the said college, after my judgment. And then of the whole number the king's highness may chuse the most excellent. Assuring you, my lord, that I know no man more mete for the dean's room; in *England*, than Dr. *Crome*, who, by his sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath done unto the king's majesty as good service, I dare say, as any priest in *England*. And yet his grace daily remembreth all others that do him service, this man only except; who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his highness's hands. Wherefore, if it will please his majesty to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt

doubt but that he should shew light to all the deans and masters of colleges in this realm : for I know that when he was but president of a college in *Cambridge*, his house was better ordered than all the houses in *Cambridge* besides. And thus, my lord, you have my final advice concerning the premises, which I refer unto the king's grace's judgment, to be allowed or disallowed at his highness's pleasure. Sending unto your lordship, herewithal, the bill again, according to your request. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well.

*At Croyden, 29th day
of Nov. [1539.]* Your own ever assured,

T. CANTUARIEN.

But to proceed : We are now come to this pass, that if the law of the land permit us, we seem to have hardly any notion left of a law of *Christ*, that may forbid us any thing whatsoever. For a specimen of this, I must tell a melancholy story of my own knowledge. When I was once talking with the lord chief justice *King*, one brought up among the dissenters at *Exeter*, under a most religious, christian, and learned education, we fell into a debate about signing articles, which we did not believe for preferment ; which he openly justified, and pleaded for it, that *We must not lose our usefulness for scruples*. [Strange doctrine in the mouth of one bred up among dissenters ! whose whole dissent from the legally established church was built on *scruples*.] I reply'd, that I was sorry to hear his lordship say so ; and desired to know, whether, in their courts, they allowed of such prevarication or not ? He answered, They did not allow of it. Which produced this rejoinder from me, " Suppose God Almighty should
" be as just in the next world, as my lord chief
" justice is in this, where are we then ?" To which
he

he made no answer. And to which the late Queen *Caroline* added, when I told her the story, Mr. Whiston, *no answer was to be made to it.*

Nay farther, if the remarks on a part of a bill brought into the house of lords, by the earl of *Nottingham*, 1721, and intituled, *A Bill for the more effectual Suppression of Blasphemy and Profaneness*, supposed to be written by the bishop of *London*, be not quite mistaken, “ That those of the
 “ clergy, who are understood to be favourers of the
 “ *Arian* doctrines, (for that was the *blasphemy* and
 “ *profaneness* here principally meant) will subscribe
 “ the Test therein mentioned against *Arianism*, is
 “ most certain; because the Test is part of the
 “ thirty-nine articles: and it is an avowed prin-
 “ ciple among them, that those articles may law-
 “ fully and conscientiously be subscribed in any
 “ sense, in which they themselves, by their own
 “ interpretation, can reconcile them to scripture;
 “ without regard to the meaning and intention,
 “ either of the persons who first compiled them,
 “ or who now impose them.—’Tis also said here,
 “ That this method of subscribing has been occa-
 “ sionally mentioned as a very lawful and regular
 “ way, in many other of the *Arian* books; and
 “ is what they all openly and professedly maintain
 “ in their common conversation: that several of
 “ them have actually subscribed, and received pro-
 “ motions since they fell into these opinions, and
 “ became advocates for them. And the author
 “ says, he had not known or heard of any one
 “ man among them, who has declin’d the offer of
 “ promotion, on account of his not being able to
 “ subscribe.” Now tho’ this is said in much too
 general a manner, and both Mr. *Emlyn* and myself
 always, and Dr. *Clarke* and Mr. *Jackson* after some
 time, have refused all preferments that require
 that subscription: not to name others within my
 acquaint-

acquaintance, because their cases are not so well known : yet are such examples, to be sure, very rare among us ; and the generality seem, by their practice, to approve of the lord King's grand expedient ; *Not to lose their usefulness for scruples.*

Now that the reader may see, in short, what a circle a poor clergyman of *the church of England* is to run through, before he can be legally possessed of a living at this day ; and which I must have run through myself, before I could have been possess'd of the living of *Pensehurst*, some time since offered me, had I accepted it, of which hereafter, take this doleful catalogue, in the words of Sir *Simon Degg*, in his *Parson's Counsellor*, printed 1676, chap. vi. as follows.

“ The sixth chapter shews what a clerk is to do before, at, and after his admission, institution, and induction, to make him a compleat parson.

“ No man at this day, says the author, is capable to be a parson, vicar, &c. before he is a priest in orders ; which he cannot be before he is twenty-four years of age, as has been said ; and if any person shall be admitted, instituted, and inducted into any living, before he is in holy orders, his admission, institution, and induction are void, by the late *Act of Uniformity*. Secondly, he must make his subscription [to the *thirty-nine Articles*, &c.] according to the said act ; and have a certificate from the bishop, &c. under his hand and seal, that he hath so done ; and then, within two months after he is inducted, he must, upon some *Sunday* or *Lord's-Day*, during divine service, (that is, after some part of the divine service of the church for that day appointed is read, and before the whole is finished,) read the *thirty-nine Articles of Religion*, in the parish church, &c. into which he shall be inducted, and declare his unfeigned assent
“ and

“ and consent to all that is therein contain’d; and
 “ he must likewise, within two months actual
 “ possession of such benefice, &c. (which is in-
 “ tended within two months of induction, or in-
 “ stallation, &c.) read *The Book of Common-Prayer*
 “ (that is, the whole service of the church ap-
 “ pointed for that day, as it is there appointed,)
 “ and likewise declare his assent and consent to all
 “ the matters and things therein contained, in these
 “ words, I *A. B.* do declare my unfeigned assent
 “ and consent to all and every thing contained in
 “ and prescribed, &c. by the book intituled, *The*
 “ *Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of*
 “ *the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of*
 “ *the Church, according to the Use of the Church of*
 “ *England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of*
 “ *David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in*
 “ *Churches,* and the form, or manner of making,
 “ ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests,
 “ and deacons.

“ And if any parson, vicar, &c. fail in the
 “ doing of any of these things beforementioned,
 “ or any of those be neglected, the church be-
 “ comes void; and the clerk that makes such fai-
 “ lure, in case he shall sue for his tythes, or any
 “ other church duty, or other thing belonging
 “ to the church; if the defendant insist upon it,
 “ must prove the doing of all these things—
 “ And it is to be observed, that the parsons, vicars,
 “ &c. must, upon the acceptance of every new
 “ living or ecclesiastical preferment, within this
 “ law, repeat all these things; for the perfor-
 “ mance of all these things, upon the taking of
 “ one living, will not satisfy for any other.

“ I shall give my reverend clergymen there-
 “ fore this caution, if any of them have accepted
 “ any ecclesiastical preferments, and have negli-
 “ gently omitted any of these things, and that
 “ thereby

“ thereby they may be lapsed to the king, that
 “ they obtain presentations from the king *ad coro-*
 “ *borandum*, and that thereupon they perfect all
 “ their former neglects.

“ And for the future I advise them, that they
 “ first have some credible witnesses present, when
 “ they make their subscription before the bishop;
 “ and that they attest the bishops certificate; and
 “ that they get two books of articles, and that,
 “ when they read the *thirty-nine Articles*, they give
 “ one of those books of articles to some credible
 “ parishioners, to read with them, and then attest
 “ the book, that they were present, and heard the
 “ clerk read the said *thirty-nine Articles*, during
 “ the time of common-prayer, and declared his
 “ unfeigned assent and consent to all the matters
 “ and things therein contained, by subscribing their
 “ names thereunto; and that the clergyman keep
 “ safely the said book of articles, with this at-
 “ testation. And I advise, that when he reads the
 “ book of *Common-Prayer*, which must (as above
 “ is said) be read Morning and Evening, in all
 “ things which are prescrib'd therein within two
 “ months after induction, that he likewise make
 “ some intelligent parishioners to read with him,
 “ and give him a copy of the declaration afore-
 “ said, and at the foot of it take an attestation
 “ under their hands of his reading the same book
 “ of *Common-Prayer* and *Declaration*. Which may
 “ be done in this form.

“ First, in a fair and legible hand, write the *De-*
 “ *claration* aforesaid. Then write under to this
 “ effect. *Memorandum*, That, upon *Sunday* the
 “ day of in the year of our Lord *A. B.*
 “ *Parson* of *D* in the county of *D*
 “ read *Common-Prayers* in the parish church of
 “ *D* aforesaid, both in the forenoon and
 “ afternoon of the same day; according to the form
 “ and

“ and order prescrib’d and directed by the book,
 “ intitled, &c. And immediately after the reading
 “ the same, made a declaration of his unfeigned
 “ assent and consent, to all the matters and things
 “ therein contained, in the former words above
 “ written. And then let the witnesses hereunto sub-
 “ scribe the same certificate: which the clerk is to
 “ keep carefully with his institution, induction, and
 “ certificate, with the book of articles, attested as
 “ is above directed, and, in these things, I advise all
 “ clergymen to be very tender and careful.”

Now the reader may note here, that the *New Testament*, with the *Apostolick Constitutions and Canons*, and all the qualifications in the epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* are intirely omitted, and the whole is put upon the truth and certainty of the church of *England’s* settlements, as then by law established; without regard to any other rule whatsoever. To be sure Sir *Richard Steel* hit the mark, when he thus distinguished the two principal churches in *Christendom*, the church of *Rome* and the church of *England*; that the former pretended to be *infallible*; and the latter to be *always in the right*.

N. B. The reader must give me leave to tell him here another fact, which will hardly come in better any where else, but still relates so directly to myself, that it ought not to be omitted in these *Memoirs* of my own *Life*: It is this:

Soon after the accession of the house of *Hanover* to the throne, Sir *Joseph Jekyl*, that most excellent and upright master of the rolls, and sincere christian; Dr. *Clark’s* and my very good friend; had such an opinion of us two, that we might be proper persons to be made bishops, in order to our endeavouring to amend what was amiss in the church; and had a mind to feel my pulse, how I would relish such a proposal, if it ever should be made me: my answer was direct and sudden; that I would not sign the xxxix *Ar-*

ticles to be archbishop of *Canterbury*: to which Sir *Joseph* reply'd, that bishops are not obliged to sign those articles. I said I never knew so much before. But still I added, if I were a bishop I must oblige others to sign them; which would go solely against the grain with me. However, I added further, that supposing I should get over that scruple, and esteem this act only as ministerial; which would by no means imply my own approbation, yet when I were a bishop, I should certainly endeavour to govern my diocese by the christian rules, in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and in *St. Paul's* epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*: which as they would frequently contradict the laws of the land, would certainly expose me to a *præmunire*, to the forfeiture of all my goods to the crown, and to imprisonment as long as the king pleased. *And this*, concluded I, *would be the end of bishop Whiston*. So I thought no more of it. I might have added also, what would for ever exclude me from a bishoprick in the present state of the church, the 31st *Canon* of the apostles. *If any bishop makes use of the rulers of this world, and by their means obtains to be a bishop of a church, let him be deprived and suspended, and all that communicate with him*. See my *Christian Discipline*, page 56.

I conclude this matter with that very pertinent and emphatical reply, which a fellow of *Emanuel* college in *Cambridge* made to a friend of his of the same college, when at the Restoration; wherein, by *Mr. Baxter's* account, 1800 clergymen [a prodigious number this] were deprived for non-conformity, he had been representing the great difficulties of conformity in point of conscience; concluding, however, with these Words: *But we must live*. To which the other answered only, with the like number of words, *But we must die*. Than which a better answer could not possibly be given.

Upon

Upon this occasion of the turning out 1800 peaceable clergymen in *England* out of their cures, into the wide world, for *Non-conformity*, 1662, and upon occasion of the indignity put upon the very name of *Non-conformists*, by the publick vogue ever since : As also upon occasion of the turning out of no small number of clergymen in *England* and *Scotland*, 1689, for being *Non-jurors* ; and the like indignity put upon the very name of *Non-jurors* by the publick vogue ever since ; I cannot but remark how unjustly this is done in both cases ; since it appears that those *Non-conformists* and *Non-juring* clergymen, whether they were in the right or wrong, have acted most against their worldly interest, and according to the consciences of all their brethren ; and deserve real honour on those accounts. And I cannot but fear that a time will come hereafter, when the tables will be turned, and many ambitious Conformists and Jurors will be in evil case ; and even the names of Conformists and Jurors will be rather in reproach ; because they seem'd to prefer their interest to their conscience in this world.

N. B. Our late addresses to the crown, nay, our prayers and sermons still call our present constitution in church and state, an *Happy Constitution*. I cannot join in the epithet *happy* : Since I verily think it a most *unhappy* one, as having not the least distinct regard to the laws of God, to the *Bible*, or to Christianity, in any of our courts, civil or temporal ; nay, not in our ecclesiastical or spiritual courts neither. To say nothing more of the permission of a bishop to be Non-resident for six years together, and yet to be prefer'd afterward to three other bishopricks successively : of the like permission of bishops, as well as priests and deacons, to marry twice, nay thrice, nay four times, and still to give them leave to officiate as bishops, priests, and deacons still ; contrary to the known laws of the gospel, not only

recorded in the *Apostolical Constitutions* and *Canons*, but in the ordinary books of the *New-Testament*. See my *Christian Discipline*, page 31—38, and my *Friendly Address to the Baptists*.

Nor can I do other than pity, heartily pity, every good protestant king and queen of *England*; as well as every good protestant A. B. of *Canterbury* since the Reformation; between whom the old usurped power of the pope of *Rome*, as pretended head of the church, is now divided by act of parliament, for granting those dispensations, as to the laws of *Christ* and the *Apostolical Canons*, which quite enervate christian discipline, and almost set aside the christian religion in this kingdom.

But before I proceed farther, give me leave to try to shame those called christians, to act with more regard to the *Bible* and the laws of christianity than they do at present, by producing a most remarkable relation, taken out of *Prince Cantemir's History of the Ottomans*, page 103, 104, 105, which will clearly shew, how vastly greater regard the *Turks* pay to their *Coran*, than we do to our *Bible*. The history is this. When Sultan *Mahomet II.* took *Constantinople*, A. D. 1453, it was part of it taken by force; and in that part the christian religion was suppress'd. But the other part was delivered up by composition; and an agreement was made that the christian religion should be preserved, as well as the churches and clergy thereto belonging. This toleration was enjoyed till the reign of Sultan *Selim I.* who had a mind to force all the christians to turn *Mahometans*, as the only way to their salvation. Accordingly, when the *Mufty* was once with him, he asked him, "Whether it was
" most meritorious, to fight for the propagation of
" the true religion, and the salvation of souls, or
" for temporal dominion?" The *Mufty* was not
thoroughly

thoroughly apprized of the full intention of the Grand Seignior; but said, “ That to fight for the true religion and salvation of souls (one of which was of more worth than the whole world) was by far the most meritorious.” So that when a decree of the Grand Seignior’s was brought him to sign, for abolishing the christian religion in *Constantinople*, and obliging all the christians there to turn mussulmen, he rashly signed it; and thereby, according to their law, it was become sacred and irrevocable. When the Grand Visier found how this matter stood, he was sorely grieved; and went and reproached the Mufty for what he had done; shewing him how expressly this decree contradicted the *Coran*; which directly allowed toleration to all that would pay annual tribute: The Mufty hereupon confessed his mistake, and swore that he would undo what he had done. Accordingly the Grand Visier and Mufty sent to the christian patriarch and clergy to demand a legal trial before the Mufty; which, it seems, could not be denied them. At which time they solemnly pleaded the express law of the *Coran*, and the public league which had been made with them. When this law of the *Coran* was pleaded from the text itself, and the agreement of the commentators in its interpretation, the Mufty declared, that so it was: and that this law was to stand inviolable; and therefore the decree must be reversed. Nor durst the Grand Seignior oppose. However, the Tefdar, or treasurer, who, as his office required, pleaded for the Sultan, said farther, that the christians, besides the authority of the *Coran*, alledg’d an agreement or league also; which he insisted they should produce. In this case the christians pleaded, that such a league was certainly made; but the record of it was burnt in a fire, that had some time since happened at *Constantinople*. Which they proved by producing three very old Janisaries; who so-

solemnly attested the truth of it, which they well remembered. So the christians carried their cause intirely ; and the toleration which they still enjoy at *Constantinople*, must be owing to their success in this important tryal, with the Sultan's own submission to their sacred *Coran*, and strict regard to their league. Nor was he able to do more against the christians at this time, than to order the demolition of the generality of the christians fine churches there, built of stone ; and to oblige them to be content with more humble ones, built of wood. Which decree was not contrary either to the *Coran* or league. This was executed accordingly. I wish, heartily wish, that the *most Christian* and *Catholick Kings* ; with our own *Defender of the Faith*, may shew as great a regard to the *Bible*, as the Sultan did to the *Coran*.

In the year 1710, *Octob.* 30, I was banished the university of *Cambridge* ; with which severity, when Mrs. *Roberts* of *Glaiston*, afterward reproached Dr. *Richardson*, rector of that town, and Master of *Peter-house* in *Cambridge*, one of those that banished me, he replied, “ Of what they did at *Cambridge* “ they were not bound to give an account to any “ body.” Accordingly no one, that I know of, has ever written in contradiction to my accounts, or in vindication of that banishment, to this day.

In this year 1710, but before that banishment, I published *Prælectiones Physico Mathematicæ, Cantabrigiæ, in Scholis publicis habitæ. Quibus Philosophia Illustrissimi Newtoni Mathematica explicatius traditur ; et facilius demonstratur. Cometographia etiam Halleiana Commentariolo illustratur. In usum Juventutis Academicæ. Typis Academicis, 8vo pretium, 4s.*

N. B. These lectures were also put into *English* afterward at *London*, and published there, under my own review, but corrected by Mr. *Cunn*.

In page 53, 54, of the *Latin* edition, there was a mistake made in the rule for finding the motion
of

of elastick bodies after their collision : which was rectified in the *English* by Mr. *Cunn*.

N. B. I had been several years, before my banishment, a member of that most valuable society, called, *The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* ; one of those greatly encouraged, if not first formed, by my old friend Dr. *Bray*, already mentioned. Now it happened, that from the year 1708, I had gone into deeper enquiries and designs ; no less than the discovery and restoration of truly Primitive Christianity, as our Saviour and his apostles left it, without all regard to modern ages : while this society thought themselves only capable of supporting things as they then stood in the church of *England*, by law established : I therefore soon found my frequenting that society any longer, would rather occasion contests and disputes, than promote christianity ; would hinder rather than further even those really good designs, as I should esteem them, of the society. Hereupon I thought it best to withdraw my attendance. And, on *December 18, 1710*, I wrote a letter to their secretary, to be communicated to the society ; such an one as Mr. *Nelson*, one of the best of all our members, as I have been told, greatly approved of. It was inserted into the books of that society ; and thence I present it to the reader ; having not myself found a copy of it among my own papers. It was in these words ; directed to Mr. secretary *Newman*, who had long been my great friend.

Union-Court, 18 Dec. 1710.

S I R,

THIS comes to give our society, for promoting christian knowledge, the reason of my absenting myself from their meetings now I am come to reside in town ; whereas I so seldom used

to fail them, when I was but occasionally there. I confess, I am not able to enter into this matter, nor to absent myself from the society without some concern and uneasiness. I have the same designs for advancing true genuine christian knowledge and practice that the rest of the society have. My heart is entirely with them, in their brave and religious, and charitable and christian undertakings. I am still as willing and as ready as ever to assist and encourage, and advise in any of their affairs. I own myself to receive no small benefit, comfort, and edification myself from their society; and I cannot, without unwillingness and regret, bear to be excluded or banished from them. Yet do I by no means think it prudent in me, considering the circumstances I am at present under, any longer to frequent their meetings, since there may such inconveniencies thence arise, as may hinder, not only myself, but the rest, from doing that good which otherwise might be expected. Insomuch, that the very same design of *doing good*, which prompted the society to chuse me at first, and me to accept the same, and to frequent their assemblies, seems now to require my absenting myself from them: so long I mean, as the reasons for such absenting shall stand good; and till those important things, I have to propose to the christian world, be so thoroughly examined, that I may stand justified before all good men, and they may see it necessary to join my designs with those which they are already engaged in, in order to a thorough reformation of the christian church, and the hastening the coming of our Saviour's kingdom of peace and holiness. This, I very believe, will be found necessary in no very long time. But since it is not in that state at present, and suspicions and jealousies may easily rise in the mean time, I do hereby take my leave of the society; begging of God to bless them in all their religious undertakings,
and

and to open the eyes of the christian world, to see, believe and practice exactly according to the revelation by his Son: and offering my hearty service to the society, and every member of it, in any such designs as in my present circumstances I may be assisting in, in a more private manner; and hoping that Almighty God will, in this matter, accept of my hearty good will for the deed, and not exclude me from all rewards of those pious undertakings, which I have hitherto been ready to promote more openly, and which I shall still be ready to promote by my own private endeavours, good wishes, and prayers for their success, and advancement in the world.

*I am,
Sir, the Society's, and
Your most humble Servant,*

WILL. WHISTON.

Having just now mentioned so excellent a person as Mr. *Nelson*, who wrote against Dr. *Clarke*, and transmitted the solemn thanks of the clergy of the *Gallican* church to bishop *Bull*, for his vindication of the council of *Nice*, and moderate *Athanasianism*, when her two most learned men, *Petavius* and *Huetius*, had, in effect, given it up; I shall here insert a letter of mine to him, never before printed, upon the same subject.

Camb. July 31, 1710.

Much honour'd Sir,

I Heartily thank you for your good wishes and prayers for me; as supposing me running into a dangerous heresy; and nothing can be more charitable or more christian than what you do upon that supposition. But sure, good Sir, the opinions I have entertain'd,

entertain'd, *after* most frequent and sincere prayers to God for his direction; *after* an unbiass'd and thorough examination of all the sacred and authentick writers of the first times; *after* the hazard of all my hopes and preferment, of my family, nay, of my life itself in this world; *after* not only the attainment of full and clear satisfaction in my own mind, but the affording the same satisfaction to some others, who came with dread and caution every step, yet were not able to deny the evidence that I produc'd; *after* not only offering, but earnestly pressing the examination of my papers upon the archbishops and bishops, and the university; *after* having plainly silenc'd the truly learned, so far that not one of them appears willing to answer what I have to say. *After* all this, certainly you ought not to write as if I were evidently in the wrong; and that, instead of any examination, whether it be so or not, you only would have endeavours us'd for my conviction. I am so well assured that the doctrine, which that body of the christian church, which their adversaries would call *Arian*, teach, is no other than the plain doctrine of the *New Testament*, of the apostolical constitutions of *Ignatius*, and all the ancients; that it is with me a branch of my common christianity: and as to the main, not to be disbeliv'd by me while I am a christian. And the evidence I have for what I say is *undeniable*: as I am ready to shew at what time, and before what company, you shall please to hear it debated. And, good Sir, give me leave to say, that such doctrines as you and bishop *Bevcridge* do support in these matters, are no better than the heretical notions which *Tertullian* and some of the *Montanists* took from elder *Hereticks*; and which were afterward propagated by those ignorant and pernicious *Hereticks*, *Marcellus* and *Athanasius*, contrary to the sense of the

the

the body of the christian church in their times: and which, as improv'd by the later ignorant ages, have come down to our days; but begins to be seen and rejected by all the most learned and most impartial enquirers. Sure, Sir, we are not to believe *Mysteries* farther than they are a part of the revelation of *Christ*; and so far I fully believe any that are laid before me. But to believe any on the credit of such ignorant forgers as *Athanasius*, or *Vigilius Thapsitanus*, you must excuse me. We are to call no man master upon earth; since one is our master, even *Christ*. Even an apostle would not pretend to have dominion over the faith of christians; but exactly kept to that which *Christ* had deliver'd. Neither they, nor an angel from heaven, could preach any other doctrines of the gospel than had been committed to them by *Christ* himself, and which now appear in the apostles constitutions. And as I am fully satisfy'd that those constitutions are of equal authority with the four gospels themselves, and contain no other than that faith I contend for, so do I think you greatly guilty of the neglect of those cautions before-mention'd, when you declare so firm a belief of, and eager concern for such doctrines, as have plainly no foundation in all the original books of our religion. I run no hazard as to another world, because I keep close to that faith and practice which was once delivered to the saints, without suffering any synod or human authority to turn me at all out of the way: whereas you venture in the most sacred concerns, to believe and practice as the country and church, wherein you were educated, happen'd to instruct you, and seem to think it a piece of impiety to do otherwise. I must confess, I cannot but wonder at the learned, and especially at the clergy; that when things of that mighty consequence are so solemnly propos'd to their consideration, they generally satisfy themselves

selves to go on year after year, without troubling themselves about them: nay, they still venture to use the most heretical creed that is now extant in the world, I mean that ascrib'd to *Athanasius*: as if there were no account to be given hereafter, but the authority of the church were sufficient to set aside that of our blessed Saviour, and his holy apostles, and to excuse all such antichristian practices now among us. I heartily wish that your zeal, integrity, and concern for true religion, might be made an instrument of bringing these most important matters to a fair and publick examination; for then I easily foresee the consequence. Pure and primitive christianity must then obtain: and the constitutions of *Christ* by his apostles, instead of human laws and articles, must be the standard of our religious actions, and of our faith also. Which that they may soon be, is the earnest endeavour and prayer of,

Your most affectionate Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

At the end of the same year, 1710, I first published my *Historical Preface*. It was afterwards improved, and made a real *Preface* to my four volumes; which came not out till 1711. It then included, as a first appendix, an account of my prosecution at, and banishment from the university of *Cambridge*. But since that edition, this last account was reprinted 1718, with some additions; I desire the future editions may be made from that copy. The same thing is true of that *Account of the Convocation's Proceedings* with relation to me; which, at first, was published by itself, some considerable time before the end of the year 1711. But this having been reprinted, and made *The Second Appendix to my Historical Preface*,
when

when it was become the real *Preface* to my first volume, which was published a little before the end of that year, thither I refer the reader.

N. B. I also read about a year other publick lectures, after those before-mentioned, and before my banishment from the university: which contained an account of all the ancient eclipses of the sun and moon, that have been preserved to us, in the very words of the original historians. A copy of which lectures was repositied in the archives of that university. Which lectures were afterward printed, and ought to be added at the end of some of the fore-mentioned astronomical, or physico mathematical lectures.

The reader is also to observe, that I invented the *Copernicus*, an astronomical instrument, and afterwards published, for the examination of all those, and indeed of all the ancient eclipses, that could possibly be seen in any parts of the world, of which we have any ancient histories preserv'd, and this with much greater ease, tho' not with quite the exactness, than formerly, by the usual tedious calculations; that so no historians or chronologers might ever be at a loss hereafter, for the circumstances of such eclipses as are mentioned by any ancient author whomsoever. Accordingly I calculated by it the eclipses of the sun and moon for four several periods of eclipses, *i. e.* for four 18y. 11d. 7h. 43m. $\frac{1}{3}$, at the distance each from other of 800 years, *i. e.* for 418 to 400 years before; and 400 to 418, and for 1200 to 1218 years *after* the christian æra: besides those in my own time from 1700 to 1718. A table of which eclipses, 250 in number, I have now by me, not yet published; but which ought to be added to the future additions of these lectures, both in *Latin* and *English*.

It must have been about the year 1711, when I was come newly to *London*, upon my banishment from the university, that Dr. *Clarke* introduced me into the company of the lady *Caverly*, in *Soho-Square*; whose daughter by her first husband, or niece, had been married to bishop *Lloyd's* son; which occasioned her acquaintance with that great man, and her studying the revelation of St. *John*, about which she was greatly inquisitive. She had now living with her one Sir *John Hubern*, a sort of a second-hand husband, but such an one as neither owned her for his wife, nor gave her his name; and, in short, as I learned afterward, was suspected to live with her in fornication: however, she being a believer, loved to have christians of good reputation come and dine with her, such as she thought Dr. *Bradford*, Dr. *Clarke*, and myself; as Sir *John Hubern*, being an unbeliever, loved to have persons like himself; such as Mr. *Collins*, and Dr. *Tyndal*, and where accordingly we used to meet, and to have frequent, but friendly debates, about the truth of the bible and christian religion. After some time, when I was informed of this very suspicious affair, I was uneasy; and told Dr. *Clarke* that he had brought me into a snare; and desired him to let me know whether the lady *Caverly* and Sir *John Hubern* were married or nor? his account was blind and uncertain: that he supposed they had been married somewhere beyond sea, when she met with him in the army, after some aukwark sort or other; and that they had lived as man and wife ever since, tho' he would never own her for his wife. This account made me so uneasy, that I could not go on with my visits to my own satisfaction, till the matter was better cleared up; and I desired to know the bottom of it before I proceeded; of which I had a very good opportunity soon offered, which I took hold of immediately:

ly: it was this; dining myself alone with the lady *Caverly* one *Saturday*, I happen to say, that I design'd the next day to go to *Bow Church*, of which *Dr. Bradford* was minister, and indeed one of the best of all the *London* ministers; to stay the communion with him. Upon which she said, she would also come to the communion with me. Whereupon I went immediately to *Dr. Bradford*, who knew the report of her living in fornication with *Sir John Hubern* as well as I, and desired him to deny her the communion upon that report; and we would then go home with her, and talk with *Sir John* about it. *Dr. Bradford* thanked me for my information and advice, and resolved to act accordingly: so in the morning we both came, as was agreed; and *Dr. Bradford* told the lady, that upon occasion of this scandal, he must refuse her the communion, if she offered herself: upon which she fell into tears; as earnestly desiring to be owned for *Sir John Hubern's* wife, but not able to compass it. After the communion was over, the lady carried us home in her coach, where we found *Sir John*. I soon broke the matter to him, and told him, that *Dr. Bradford* had been forced to do an hard thing to the lady *Caverly*, and to refuse her the communion, because they lived as man and wife, but he did not own her for his wife. I said, that this behaviour was unjustifiable, not only upon the foot of christianity, but of common morality and humanity while an heathen ought not so unworthily to expose the honour of a lady. *Sir John*, upon this charge, pretended to deny his living with her as man and wife, and made as if he only managed her affairs, as a lawyer, or a friend only. I reply'd, that the lady was there, and knew it to be otherwise; and that it was no doubt but he lived with her as his wife, as much as *Dr. Bradford* and myself lived with our wives. So he

he found this would not bear : I added, that whatever imperfection there had been in the manner of their former marriage, Dr. *Bradford* and myself were both clergymen, and would either of us, if he pleased, marry them publickly again ; in which I knew no harm. When he would not agree to that, I ventured to declare my own opinion, that the lady ought to leave him, as the most unexceptionable way she could take in her present circumstances. Dr. *Bradford* was too tender in that matter to agree with me for her leaving him, now they had lived so long together. Upon which Sir *John* went his way in great discontent and uneasiness, as not liking our freedom with him ; yet too genteel to put any affront upon us. Then it was that Dr. *Bradford* told the lady, that since he now saw that she could not help herself, he would no more refuse her the communion ; which was the upshot of this conversation ; and we went on with our usual visits accordingly at her own house, till in no long time Sir *John* died, and what he left her in his will was not left as to his wife, but only as to the lady *Caverly*. In some time she also died, after a very long and very tedious illness of a cancer in her breast, and desired me to attend her and pray with her, with I did. She also left my wife 50*l.* in her will ; to *her* I say, not to *me* ; who, as she supposed, would quickly be in prison, and ruined for heresy. And since I have said thus much of good Dr. *Bradford*'s exercise of so much christian discipline, as is the refusal of the communion for strong suspicion of fornication ; I will give another example of it. When Sir *Charles Duncomb* was lord-mayor of *London*, A. D. 1709, he was to come, according to custom, to Dr. *Bradford* at *Bow Church*, to take the communion : the Dr. heard that he kept an whore in his house, and went to him to talk with him about it, and to let him know that he could not

not give him the communion; Sir *Charles* put a good face upon a bad matter, and pretended to wonder at so unjust a scandal; and promised, that he would take care that no farther occasion should be given for any such suspicion. Whereupon, Dr. *Bradford* gave him the communion that time. But after that, the Dr. heard that Sir *Charles* did still, for certain, retain his old whore: on which account he wrote him a letter, that he would no more give him the communion. These instances of discipline were so very right, and christian, and yet are so rare amongst us at this day, and I so thoroughly knew them both to be true, that I could not satisfy myself to omit them in this place.

The same year, 1711, I published *A reply to Dr. Alix's remarks on some places of my books, either printed or MSS. with an Appendix*; containing (1.) *The Preface to the doctrine of the Apostles.* (2.) *Propositions, containing the Primitive Faith of Christians, about the Trinity and Incarnation.* (3.) *A Letter to the most Reverend Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, President of the Convocation*, 8vo. Price 6 d.

Page 4, 5. About the double date of the first prophecy of *Ezekiel*, in our present copies, I have proposed another and a better conjecture in the *Essay on the Old Testament*, page 82, 83. And I add here, that in all the prophetick books of the *Old Testament*, we have none, even in our present copies, but *Ezekiel* and *Jonah*, that begin with *and*, which naturally implies, that some other prophecy or prophecies originally went before those now extant. And that accordingly, we have great reason to believe, from other ancient testimonies, that these two principally had other predictions, besides those that now appear in their present copies. See the fore-mentioned *Essay*, page 57, 58, 83, 84. Note also, that the absence of the *and*, in the second verse of

Ezekiel, is an argument that this verse might, at first, well begin that prophecy.

Page 10. Concerning the two *Oxford MSS.* see Dr. *Grabe's* essay upon them; of which presently.

Page 18, 19. Note, that the answers to certain objections against the *Apostolical Constitutions* here offered, are but imperfect: as to which, more will occur when I come to the *third Volume of Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*; and to St. *Clement's*, and St. *Irenæus's Vindications of those Constitutions*.

Page 25, &c. as to the *Appendix*, the reader may also find more satisfaction in the same *third Volume of Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, page 287, &c.

Page 36, 37. at the bottom, that clause in the common copies of the council of *Nice*, that this council anathematiz'd those who affirmed that Christ was $\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\delta\varsigma$ created; and which I both here, and elsewhere, for some time, allowed to be genuine, proved afterwards, for certain, to be an *interpolation*; nay, for certain, an *Athanasian interpolation*; nay, with very great probability, an *interpolation* made by *Athanasius* himself: See my *Athanasius convicted of forgery*. Of which hereafter.

Soon after this, the same year, 1711, I published *A Second Reply to Dr. Alix*; with two *Postscripts*; the first to Mr. *Chishul*; the second to the author of *Reflections on Mr. Whiston's Conduct*, [Dr. *Smallbroke*.] 8vo. price 6d.

Page 15, 16, 17. See, as before, what will be noted upon the *third Volume of Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, and upon St. *Clement's* and St. *Irenæus's Vindication of the Apostolical Constitutions*.

Page 37, 38. As to my assertion concerning the *Transpositions* in St. *Matthew's* gospel, here refer'd to; see what I have in my corrected copy quoted out of *Mons. Toinard's Harmony*, to the same purpose, page of this last *Harmony*, 108, 109.

In the same year, 1711, I published *Remarks on Dr. Grabe's Essay upon two Arabick MSS.* But since both the history of these two sorts of MSS. as well as what Dr. Grabe and I understood of them, is much fuller set down in the *third Volume* of my *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, page 525—564. I desire this very imperfect paper may be printed no more.

N. B. What I had asserted here, and elsewhere, in my earlier writings, viz. That *Eusebius*, and the generality of the ancient writers had, in my opinion, copies of the eight books of *Apostolical Constitutions* by them continually; tho' they thought themselves obliged to conceal them from the publick; (which last thing is yet very clear for the church of *Antioch*, in St. *Ignatius's* epistles to the *Philadelphians*, §. 8, 9.) and to refer to them in a more obscure manner, as *Apostolical Didascaly*, or *Doctrine*, or *Apostolical Preaching*, or *Apostolical Tradition*, &c. I afterward saw reason to suspect. Nor am I unwilling to grant on the contrary, that altho' their contents were universally owned to be of apostolical authority; and that these contents were all along transmitted down from the first to the fourth and following centuries, in the several churches, by some authentick method; which things appear to me certain; yet there is great room to doubt whether that method was the preservation of intire copies of the books themselves down, in all or the greatest part of the apostolical churches, to which they were originally committed by the apostles, from one generation to another, VI. 14—18. VII. 46. As was the case of the publick books of the *New-Testament*: or whether those books were themselves seen by the generality of those writers, who so frequently and undeniably bear witness to the *Contents* of them. It indeed appears to me very

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evident,

evident, that they were truly written by *Clement*, in the days of the apostles ; who in all copies and versions attests them in the 85th canon. See *Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix*. Number II. page 116——138. That their *Contents* are all along as fully attested to, as are the *Contents* of the other books of the *New Testament*, by *Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus* *Origen*, &c. See the *third Volume of Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*; with *St. Clement's*, and *St. Irenæus's Vindication of them*. That *Irenæus*, in his noble fragment, lately recovered by *Pfaffius*, quotes them as a *Book* or *written Record*; tho' as not then commonly known, or read by christians. See the last mentioned paper, page 19——26. That *Origen* also at last saw them and used them as the most sacred concealed record of christianity ; and that the author of the *Synopsis sacræ Scripturæ*, contemporary with *Origen*, as I suppose, knew of these *Clementines*, as apocryphal or concealed, but in part inspired books of the *New Testament*. Of both which last, see the *Collection of Authentick Records*, page 695, and 703——707. That when the churches of *Ethiopia* were settled in the days of *Athanasius*, they were then eight books, as they are now, and in the same order as they are now. See *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, vol. III. page 520——564. That when *Didymus*, or whoever was the author of the counterfeit works of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, wrote his books, they were then a *book* also, as they now are ; but still a book concealed with the bishops, and only epitomiz'd for the use of the people. See the same volume, page 564——580. That when the dispute happened between the church and the *Audians*, in the days of *Epiphanius*, they were a book, frequently acknowledged by both parties, to be really apostolical, and in those parts seem to have been a publick book also. See the

the same volume, page 585——604. That yet it was 150 years or more after that time, before it became a publick book in other parts of the christian world; or was freely cited as such by any writers now extant: all which appears by the evidence refer'd to. So that the main question with me is plainly this; not whether these constitutions be really *genuine*, *canonical*, and *apostolical*, which seems to me perfectly undeniable; but how it has come to pass that such important records, for certain *genuine*, *canonical*; and *apostolical*, should be transmitted down, not as a publick record, but rather as private or concealed books of the *New Testament*. Of which true state of this matter, see what I have said in *St. Clement's and St. Irenæus's Vindication of these Constitutions*, page 43——48. and chiefly in *the Collection of Authentick Records*, page 88—92.

N. B. It may not be improper to give an account here of a conversation I had with bishop Burnet, soon after the publication of my four volumes, concerning the third of those volumes; wherein I asserted and proved these constitutions to be really *genuine* and *apostolical*; Mr. Benjamin Hoadley (now bishop) had informed me, that the bishop was surprized, that one of my sagacity should believe so: whereupon I waited on the bishop, and desired to know his reasons against them: his lordship replied, that he had some reasons against them, but did not now remember them. However, he soon recollected one of those reasons, *viz.* the dryness and dulness of the prayers. To which I answered, that his lordship greatly surprized me by saying so: since I thought all that perused them allowed they were among the best prayers now in the world. The bishop said farther, in excuse for his present unacquaintedness with such matters of antiquity, (which Mr. Hoadley had hinted to me

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already,)

already,) that 'twas thirty years ago since he read over the three first centuries; which well agrees with his notes, which I have by me, on the first and second canons of the apostles, printed *A. D.* 1673; and with his son's *account of his life*; where he informs us, that for four years and a half at *Glasgow*, from 1669, to 1673, he, every other *Thursday*, “ Explained some portion of the
 “ ritual and constitution of the primitive church;
 “ making the apostolical canons his text, and
 “ reducing every article of practice under the
 “ head of one of those canons.”

N. B. As a *Postscript* to my *Account of the Convocation's Proceedings*, I made this year, 1711, *A Reply to the Considerations on my Historical Preface*, written by Dr. Knight, of St. Sepulchre's, a learned and pious man. And to the *Premonition* to the reader, thereto prefixed, written by the not less pious, but much more learned and judicious Dr. Lee, 8vo, price of the whole pamphlet 1 s.

The same year, 1711, a little before the publication of my four volumes, I printed an half sheet, intituled, *Animadversions on the New Arian Reprov'd*, which had been published by Dr. Smallbroke; it is to be found among my collection of small tracks, belonging to my five volumes.

Before this year, 1711, was out, I published my principal work, *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, in four volumes 8vo.

Vol. I. Containing *The epistles of Ignatius*, both larger and smaller, in *Greek and English*.

Vol. II. *The apostolical constitutions*, in *Greek and English*.

Vol. III. *An essay on those apostolical constitutions, to prove them genuine*.

Vol. IV. *An account of the primitive faith, concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*. Price 1 l. 8s.

Vol. I.

Vol. I. *The Epistles of Ignatius*, bishop of *Antioch*, both larger and smaller, in *Greek* and *English*: With the various Readings from all the MSS. [divided now into verses.]

To which is prefixed, *An Historical Preface*, including the accounts of the university, and convocation's proceedings with relation to the author. With a *Supplement* and *Postscript*. As also, *A Preliminary Dissertation*, proving, that the larger copies of *Ignatius's* epistles are alone genuine: and the smaller only heretical extracts from them, made in the fourth century. To which preface is prefixed the apologetick of *Eunomius* intire, in *English*.

N. B. The name of each epistle is to be added at the top of each page hereafter.

Vol. II. *The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, by *Clement*, in *Greek* and *English*: with the various readings from all the MSS. [divided now into verses.]

N. B. The number of the books is wanting at the top of each page, till the VIIth book: nor are the breadths of the *Greek* and *English* columns well adjusted to one another. The *Greek* being usually a little too narrow, and the *English* a little too wide; which may be prevented, with a little care, in succeeding editions.

N. B. We have in *Constitutions* V. 17. An astronomical determination of the place of the vernal equinox, when the second rule for finding *Easter* was promulgated; viz. That it then fell on the 22d. of *Dystrus*, or *March*; which, within about 134 years, or rather the greater part of them only, determine it to have been about *A. D.* 135. Which was the first proper time when this rule could take place, upon the destruction of the church

of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, by *Adrian* ; when the equinox was leaving the 23d, and coming upon the 22d day of *March*, as the astronomical observations, and tables agree. Now since the first rule belonging to the original copies of the *Constitutions*, still preserv'd in *Epiphanius*, was πολὺ πρότερον, much ancients than this second rule ; as we learn from *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius* ; that first rule, and the *Constitutions* to which it belonged, must have been much ancients than *A. D.* 135, or before the second century began. But what strongly confirms this rule as really apostolical, or rather as really deriv'd from our Lord himself, is the denomination which the learned *Anatolius* gave it, when, about *A. D.* 270, he styles its contents in the plainest words possible, *The Lord's own Demonstrations* ; tho' none of the translators or criticks durst so understand them : for had they so done, they must have confessed that the latest of these *Constitutions* was not only of apostolical, but of Divine Authority, in the opinion of *Anatolius*.

III. *An Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*, wherein is proved that they are the most sacred of the canonical books of the *New Testament*.

N. B. That in my first edition of these four volumes, I introduced the fourth book of *Esdras*, as a spurious book, written in a fictitious manner, and under the fictitious name of *Ezra* or *Esdras*, whereas the honourable Mr. *Archibald Campbell*, as he told me himself, first started an opinion, that it was a true genuine prophetick book of the *Old Testament* ; and Dr. *Lee* afterward examined it with the utmost nicety : and though he could by no means answer several of the objections made against it, yet, upon the whole, he took it to be genuine, and frequently quoted or alluded to by Christ
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and his apostles. Dr. *Knight*, of *St. Sepulchre's*, his great friend, as I think, believed it also to be genuine.

And when I came myself to examine it thoroughly, I satisfied myself that so it was, and answered, with great ease, almost all the objections made against it. Dr. *Lee* not only wrote an intire dissertation upon it, which is in print; but also wrote a most valuable exposition of its VII. visions, which I have formerly read in MS. and published my exposition of its Vth vision, by way of *Supplement* thereto; which is contained in my *Authentick Records*, page 75—88. Note also, that the text of this author is to be hereafter published in two Columns, from the vulgar *Latin*, and from the *Arabick* copies, as it stands at the end of my fourth Volume, and with the various readings given me, either by Mr. *Crusius*, and set down at the end of the first volume of those *Records*; or in my own copy, given me by Mr. *Consett*, from the *Sclavonian* edition of this book, according to the vulgar *Latin*; the *Greek* being long ago lost.

IV. *An account of the Faith of the two first Centuries, concerning the ever-blessed Trinity, and the Incarnation of our Lord*; in the words of the sacred and primitive writers themselves, both in their Originals, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, and in *English*: To which is subjoined, the second [or rather the fourth] book of *Esdra*s, both from the common and the *Arabick* copy, just now mentioned.

In *January 1711-12*, I sent the following Letter to the archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Tennison*.

Lower End of Cross-street, Hatton-
Garden, January 9, 1711-12.

May it please your GRACE,

I Have been so often and so certainly inform'd that your Grace has not only received several very unjust, false, and ill-grounded reports, and stories of late against me, even as to the honesty and integrity

integrity of my conduct in several matters, but has given such credit and encouragement to them, as frequently to speak of them with approbation, to my great disadvantage ; nay, to the great disadvantage of that sacred cause I am engaged in ; and that without being pleased to afford me any notice of your having received such information, or of giving me the opportunity of a vindication, that I can no longer forbear complaining of that and the like hard treatment ; and I humbly beg for the equity and justice of a hearing in my own defence. I shall not here mention your grace's kind promise in your letter, that when you *saw my scheme, you would freely and without bias give me your thoughts of it*, which promise has not yet been perform'd ; nor will I complain of the hardships which the last convocation put upon me, nor of the neglect of the publick communication of that letter, which I intended for the convocation ; nor of that unfair treatment I have met with in print, from one of your own chaplains ; nor of the severe usage I have received from my diocesan, and the rector of the parish, by not admitting me to the Holy Communion ; nor of the hard measure I have had both the last year and this at *Cambridge* ; because all these things, how material soever in themselves, are either not intirely owing to your grace, or are somewhat foreign to my present design. But then, although I shall not here complain of these things, yet I cannot but complain of those other things, in which I think the hardship I am under is very great, affects my reputation very much, and is so far owing to your grace, that I cannot properly apply myself to any one else for relief therein. And tho' I own the great distance there is between your grace's high office and dignity, which you have so long and so worthily held in the church, and the mean place and state I am in ; together with the great duty and observance that is owing to
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that your sacred office and dignity, which I am ever most ready to pay : yet are the primitive truths, and books of our holy religion, of much greater consequence than the reputation and authority of any man whomsoever. In the proposal whereof to the christian world, the providence of God has been pleased to make use of me, as an instrument, and for my faithfulness to which trust all this hardship has befallen me. I cannot therefore be silent under your Grace's ill opinion and censures any longer, without being wanting to my duty. I do therefore hereby humbly beg it as a point of favour, if I may not insist on it as a point of justice, that I be openly heard before your Grace, and whom else you please to choose to be present, as to these stories or informations you have received to my disadvantage. I only hope that I may be allowed to bring with me a few friends, as witnesses on my side ; that any expressions I may use in my own vindication may not be imputed to me as a crime, and that no informations may be admitted, as foundations for censure, but from persons then to be present, or letters with names to them ; that so such stories, as have no authors to support them, may be quite discouraged, and I may have afterward the better opportunity of fully clearing my reputation to all the world. This is what I cannot but expect from your grace's equity and justice in the present matter. I am, I confess, not a little surpriz'd, that a person of your grace's sincerity, prudence, and experience, should so easily change your opinion of my integrity, as you seem of late to have done ; and that without any other foundation than hearing partial and gross mistakes, and misrepresentations of matters of fact, without your once desiring to know the real truth, and what I had to say in my own vindication ; especially when your grace cannot but be sensible, that in such a case as mine,
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the like scandals and false reports will of course abound every where. Were those reports indeed never so true, they would not invalidate my evidence, nor render a solemn examination of my writings unnecessary. Yet because it is of great consequence, as the prejudices of mankind are, that they should be publickly known to be vain and groundless; and I am sure, that by the assistance of God, I have all along acted so fairly, openly, and honestly in these matters, that I fear no examination; I do therefore desire a publick hearing; being very confident, that whatever *sufferings* may come on me *as a christian*, I shall be able to satisfy your Grace and the world, that they cannot be inflicted on me *as an evil-doer*. 'Tis very hard, my lord, that before the learned have answered the evidence I have laid before them, for the authority of those sacred books and doctrines of our religion which I embrace, any should endeavour to run me down by reproaches, calumnies, violence, and persecution; and the hardest of all, that your grace's character and authority should be made use of for the credit of such unjust reproaches and calumnies, and by consequence at last, for the encouragement of such violence and persecution also. I humbly beg your grace to receive this with your wonted equity and candour, and to believe me to be, with the greatest submission and humility,

Your Grace's most obedient Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

To which I had the following answer from his grace's chaplain, Mr. *Benjamin Ibbot*, a friend of mine.

My

Lambeth-House, Jan. 15, 1711-12.

S I R,

THE letter you lately sent inclos'd to me, I deliver'd to his grace, and he has order'd me to acquaint you with two things.

First, That the reason why he formerly abstain'd from writing to you, was his observation of the manner of your dealing with others, in publishing, without leave, what they wrote to you.

Secondly, That the reason why he does now forbear to correspond with you, is the unfitness of it from the nature of your case, which forbids him to intermeddle otherwise than in a publick capacity.

He is sorry that you have written in this letter what is false, concerning the last you sent to him at *Lambeth*, and which, upon the least enquiry, you might have found to be so; *viz.* That he neglected the publick communication of a letter intended for the convocation.

I know it was sent over to his grace's *substitute*, as soon as he had receiv'd and read it. It is true, it came to *him* just after the bishops were risen; but that happen'd from your own slowness in sending of it; and it was not judged of moment enough to be laid before the synod on the following synodical day.

My lord assures you, that he wishes you no ill; but cannot do unfitting things for your sake, and should rejoice more at your conversion, than your ruin.

I am,

your affectionate friend,

and brother,

BEN. IBBOT.

To

To which I replied the next day,

January 16, 1711-12.

S I R,

I Received yours ; and find thereby, that the answering the main design of my letter is intirely avoided. I perceive also, that his grace, as well as the rest of the learned, are not willing their proper unbias'd thoughts should be known to me and to the world : so I shall no longer expect what his grace so freely promised me on that head ; tho' he may be assured, that the least hints of his desire against a publication would certainly have prevented any such thing ; had those his thoughts been never so freely communicated to me. As to the *falsehood* of what I said, that his grace neglected the *publick communication* of my letter, intended for the convocation, that very account of the matter which you give me proves that it was *not false* : Since I meant by the neglect of that *publick communication*, that letter was not communicated *to the convocation publicly*, as it was designed to have been, in distinction from any communication to any other persons. Nor am I any way relieved by saying his grace's *substitute* dropt it for private reasons ; since he could not have done so had he had it in charge to do otherwise : nor do I know who was then his grace's *substitute*, to make my complaint to him. And if it came too late the first day, certainly that was no reason why it might not have been communicated the next, or some of those that followed : if his grace *wishes me no ill*, I hope he will please to shew it, by stopping all reports against my integrity, till that hearing is allowed me, which I insisted on in my last. And if his grace *should rejoice more at my conversion than my ruin*, I hope he will shew it in reality hereafter, and put my matters into that way of fair *examination*, which is the only method for my con-

conviction and conversion ; and not that of *legal prosecution*, which is the only way to my *ruin*, either in this world or the next ; since his grace knows, that such a legal prosecution can have no other effect, than either to expose me to excommunication and imprisonment, so as to *ruin* me and my family in this world ; or, in order to the avoiding these temporal penalties, lay me under temptations of prevarication and hypocrisy ; and so can only tend to my utter *ruin* for ever in the world to come. I do not know that I ever desired his grace to do *unfitting* things on my account, unless it be unfit for a judge to hear before sentence, and for a christian to examine what comes recommended to him under the sacred authority of Christ and his apostles. I am, Sir, (with humble duty to his grace.)

Your affectionate

brother and servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

To which I never received any answer ; but only the archbishop complained to my old patron, bishop *More*, how hard my letters were upon him : the reason of which is very obvious.

In *February 1711-12*, I published, in a half sheet, *The Supposal, or A new Scheme of Government* ; humbly offered to publick consideration, by a lover of truth and peace ; which I afterward reprinted, and owned it for mine. It is republished at the end of my *Scripture Politicks* ; of which hereafter.

In the same year, *1711-12*, that great general, prince *Eugene of Savoy*, was in *England* : and because I did then, as I do now, interpret the end of the *Hour, and Day, and Month, and Year*, for the *Ottoman* devastations, *Apoc. ix. 15.* to have been put by his glorious victory over the *Turks*, *September*

ber 1, 1697, O. S. or the succeeding peace of Carlowitz, 1698. I printed a short dedication of my first imperfect *Essay on the Revelation of St. John*, and fixed it to the cover of a copy of that Essay, and presented it to the prince ; upon which he sent me a present of fifteen guineas.

The Dedication was thus ;

Illustriſſimo Principi Eugenio Sabaudienſi, Vaticiniorum Apocalypticorum Unum, Turcarum Vaſtationibus finiendis deſtinatum, dudum adimplenti ; Alterum etiam, de Gallorum imperio ſubvertendo, magnâ ex parte, utiſpes eſt, mox adimpleturo, hunc Libellum ſummâ quâ decet reverentia, dat, dicat, conſecrat.

8 id. Mart. 1711-12.

GULIELMUS WHISTON.

In April 1712, I published what had been in part diſcovered by Dr. Robert Cannon, and ſtill farther improved by my great and learned friend Mr. Rich. Allin, a pamphlet, ſtiled, *Athanaſius convicted of Forgery*. In a letter to Mr. Thirlby, of Jeſus College, in Cambridge, in two ſheets. But becauſe it was afterwards twice improv'd, and reprinted ; once in the *three Eſſays*, Page 196—203, and again, more compleatly, in the ſecond appendix to my *Argument* ; where was added withal, *A Reply to Mr. Thirlby's ſecond Defence of Athanaſius* ; I refer the reader to this laſt edition for his ſatiſfaction.

In the ſame year, 1712, I published *Primitive Chriſtianity Reviv'd*, Volume V. containing, *The Recognitions of Clement* : Or, *The Travels of Peter* ; in ten Books ; done into *Engliſh*. As alſo two Appendixes, the one containing, *Some obſervations on Dr. Clark's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* ; and the other, *A farther Account of the convocation's and other proceedings with relation to me*. 8vo. price 5 s. But with the four Volumes, 1 l. 13 s

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As to the *Ebionite* edition, and interpolations of the catholick edition of these *Recognitions*, see the Collection of *Authentick Records*, Appendix VIII.

In the same year, 1712, I published a small pamphlet, entitled, *Primitive Infant-Baptism Reviv'd: Or, An account of the doctrine and practice of the two first centuries, concerning the Baptism of Infants*, in the words of the sacred and primitive writers themselves, 8vo. to which is to be added, the *Memorial* for setting up charity-schools in *England* and *Wales*, dated *June 10, 1610*; of which already. This treatise of *Infant-Baptism* was afterward reprinted, without any alterations, and added to the small edition of my four volumes.

Now the occasion of my discovery of this antient error, of the baptism of uncatechiz'd infants, was a question put to me by Mr. *Shelfwell*, when I was preparing to baptize him and a sister of his, who were good christians, excepting that they had never been baptiz'd before, whether I should not think it were better, if baptism were deferred till after instruction, than used before it? My answer was this; That I must honestly confess, I should myself have thought so: but that I was no legislator, and so submitted to what I then took to be a law of Christ. *Constitut. VI. 15.* "Do you also baptize your
" infants, and bring them up in the nurture and ad-
" monition of God? For, says he, suffer the little
" children to come unto me, and forbid them not." When Mr. *Shelfwell* was gone, I reflected upon what had been said, and was dissatisfied that I had been forced to allow that, in my opinion, this law of Christ was not so right as it should be. Whereupon I immediately set myself to examine, what the *New Testament* and the most early fathers meant by the words which they used, when they speak of baptism of *Infants*, or *Little Children*, I mean *νήπια* & *παιδιά*, and which they esteemed not in-
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capable of that holy ordinance. And I soon discovered, that they were only those that were capable of catechetick instruction, but not fit for understanding harder matters; and that none but such *infants* and *little children* were ever, in the first and second century, made partakers of baptism. This most important discovery I soon communicated to the world, in this paper; which both bishop *Hoadly* and Dr. *Clarke* greatly approved; but still went on in the ordinary practice, notwithstanding. I sent this paper also, by an intimate friend, Mr. *Haines*, to Sir *Isaac Newton*, and desired to know his opinion: the answer returned was this, that they both had discovered the same before: nay, I afterward found that Sir *Isaac Newton* was so hearty for the baptists, as well as for the *Eusebians* or *Arians*, that he sometimes suspected these two were the *two witnesses* in the *Revelation*. See *Authent. Rec.* part II. page 1075.

I now desire my readers to divert a little from my books of learning, to take my account at large of what highly concerned me and my family, with relation to Dr. *Thomas Turner's* great benefaction to the corporation for relief of poor widows and children of clergymen: which, tho' it were not written and dedicated to the governors and benefactors of the corporation, 'till *May 1731*, when my family was in distress; yet does it really belong to this year *1712*, when I sent the letter therein contained to Dr. *Turner*.

Mr. Whiston's Account of Part of Dr. Thomas Turner's great Benefaction to the Corporation for the Relief of poor Widows and Children of Clergymen ;

Humbly dedicated to the Governors and Benefactors of that Corporation.

IT cannot be unknown to many of this society, that Dr. *Thomas Turner*, brother to Dr. *Francis Turner*, late bishop of *Ely*, continued president of *Corpus Christi College* in *Oxford*, a place of about 300 *l. per Annum*, for about 12 years : that he continued also rector of *Tharfield*, near *Royston* ; a living of near 300 *l. per Annum*, for about the same twelve years : and that he continued also prebendary of *Ely* ; which prebend was worth about 120 *l. per Annum*, for the same time, I mean all these after the imposition of the abjuration oath, *A. D.* 1702. It cannot also but be well known to this society in general, that the same Dr. *Turner* gave to them by will, not much less than 20,000 *l.* as the inscription on his noble monument, at *Nine Churches, Northamptonshire*, which I myself have seen, fully informs us. But then, by what means, upon what occasion, and by whose loss he came to die possess'd of such good preferments, and was able to become so great a benefactor to the society, I suppose, but very few of its members do at all know ; nor do they probably in the least imagine that one, comparatively so poor and so low in the world as myself, has been in no small measure, the person who occasion'd and enabled him to be so great a benefactor : which yet is the certain truth ; although I have not hitherto insisted on any equitable right for my family on that account : nor indeed had I now done it, had I not been

constrained by almost a constant series of disappointments elsewhere, in providing a competent maintenance for some of them; yet is it by no means improper for me to address myself on behalf of my children to this society; which was instituted for the widows and children of clergymen only; because they all bear the nearest relation to the clergy; and are both by the father's and mother's side, the children, the grand children, and the great grand children of *Clergymen*; if that may deserve any consideration with this society.

Be pleased therefore to know, that upon the imposition of the *Abjuration Oath*, *A. D.* 1702, to be taken by all in church preferments, by *Aug. 1*, on penalty of voiding all such preferments, *Dr. Turner* went down from *London* to *Oxford*, *July 28th*, with a resolution not to take the oath, but to quit all his preferments: that the *A. B.* of *Canterbury*, *Dr. Tennison*, thereupon wrote immediate word of such his resolution, to the *Bp. of Ely*, *Dr. Patrick*; that so he might have time to think of a proper successor to his prebend of *Ely*: that *Bp. Patrick* did, in the most kind, but unexpected manner, immediately, with his own hand, write to me to *Cambridge*, to come to *Ely*, to take that prebend: and that accordingly I did then go to *Ely*, with a full expectation of returning back a prebendary of that church. But as soon as I came thither, I met the bishop with a second letter to me in his hand upon that subject; which letter will fully prove the truth of my narration hitherto. And tho' I cannot yet find the first letter, this which I have now by me, will, of itself, abundantly supply the other's place also. It was in these words.

Ely, Aug. 18, 1702.

Good Sir,

HAVING the intelligence which I sent you about Dr. *Turner*, from no less person than his grace the archbishop of *Canterbury*, I thought it might be relied on; for he said he had it from good hands. But hearing it contradicted, I wrote to his grace, to know whether there were any certainty in it, and by the last post received an answer, that he doth not know what to believe, reports are so various. Certain it is, he went on the 28th of *July* from *London*, with a resolution not to take the oath, but quit all his preferments: and yet, on the 3d of *August*, one of my acquaintance came through *Oxford*, lay there all night, and dined with the head of a house next day, and was with several others, but heard not one word of his laying down his presidentship, as was reported. This he told me last week: and on *Sunday* I saw a letter to one in this town, from a fellow of his college, who says, he saw their president, Dr. *Turner*, at prayers that day in the chapel, which was the twelfth instant, which makes me think he changed his mind when he was gone from *London*; and hath qualified himself to keep his preferments: however it be, I intended very sincerely towards you, who may look upon it as a token of my future kindness, if it be in my power.

Yours,

SY. ELIENS.

But then, not long after I was returned from *Ely* to *Cambridge*, a very good friend of mine, Mr. *Lunn*, by name, lately archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who had been made acquainted with the imposition

that Dr. *Turner* had put upon the world, and upon the bishop of *Ely* in particular ; and after what an unwonted manner I had lost my preferment ; came and told me, “ that if he had as good a promise, “ from the bishop of *Ely*, as I had, he would soon “ be a prebendary there ; that Dr. *Turner* had not “ taken the oath : but upon advice that *a blot was “ no blot till it was bit*, he acted as if he had taken “ it; and so retain’d his preferments without taken “ it at all :” upon this information I had great debates with myself ; the result of which was, that I would enquire after Dr. *Turner*’s character ; and if I found it a bad one, I would not scruple to discover the grand secret, and endeavour to dispossess him, and recover my prebend ; but if it proved a good one, I would not do so, but content myself with my present state, and trust the good providence of God to make some farther provision for me and my family, which was then strait enough, in some other way, to me more unexceptionable. Upon which enquiry, finding that the doctor’s character was not only in general a good one, but that he was one of the greatest exemplars and promoters of learning, virtue, and good discipline in the university of *Oxford*, I resolved to keep that grand piece of knowledge secret ; and accordingly did so ; and suffered him all along to enjoy all his preferments, without the least molestation : and this notwithstanding the additional confirmation I some time afterwards had, of his not having taken the oath, from both Sir *Peter King*, afterward lord chancellor ; and Dr. *Rundle*, afterward bishop *Rundle* ; who themselves knew Dr. *Turner*’s case : to whom I then communicated my knowledge of it also, and to no other persons living. However, about ten years after, when my banishment from the university of *Cambridge* had brought my affairs low, and reduc’d me to seek the greatest part of my daily bread

bread in the wide world, I thought proper to let Dr. *Turner* know the circumstances I was in, and to inform him what expectations I had then to partake of his christian compassion and charity ; which I did by the following letter.

Lower End of *Cross-Street*,
Hatton-Garden, October 25, 1712.

Hon. Sir,

TH O' I am not personally known to you, yet are your circumstances and mine such, as make it not improper for me to address myself to you. 'Tis not impossible but you may have heard, that some years ago, when the oath of abjuration was impos'd, you declar'd yourself intirely dissatisfied therewith ; and when by consequence your prebend of *Ely* would have been void by your refusal of that oath, I was the person on whom bishop *Patrick* intended to bestow it : as accordingly his lordship was pleased to write to me, to come to *Ely* to take it ; which I did accordingly. At which time, news was come, that you did not openly refuse the oath, nor quit any preferment thereupon ; and so that matter was over for the present. Upon this, tho' I was pretty authentickly inform'd, that you had never taken that abjuration oath ; (which I have since heard confirm'd from more hands than one, and those such as I believe may be depended on ;) and tho' it was in my power to have made full enquiry, and thereupon to have vacated your preferments, and to have succeeded to one of them, yet would I not then nor since do it, and that chiefly on account of that very good character which I heard of you, and which has been all along confirm'd to me : and because I was very unwilling to enjoy any advantage, which must arise from a sort of prosecution or persecution of a very good man, who, out of a real principle of conscience, was unwilling legally to qualify himself for his preferments, which I abhor'd

to do. And you will easily suppose, that I have been as secret in this matter since, as in bishop *Patrick's* days. Now this being the case, that you, by my silence, enjoy great advantages and preferments, while I am under banishment and prosecution, as to what small place and profits I enjoy'd, and am indeed forc'd to be beholden to the generosity of some good friends for part of my support; I think it very reasonable to inform you of this matter, and of the foregoing circumstances; and to hint to you my expectations from you: for since I lost a very good preferment by my regard to your conscience, which accordingly you still enjoy, I think you cannot excuse yourself from affording me some considerable assistance, now I am, on the like account of conscience, depriv'd at least of the present advantage and income of that small employment or preferment which I had in the university. And I do verily believe I have given the world as convincing evidence, that what I have done, is truly and really from that honest principle, as you can easily give that your avoidance of the abjuration oath was so. I heartily wish that all doubtful oaths, tests, and subscriptions were taken away; and that all christians might unite to enquire after, and obey only those doctrines, laws, and discipline, which were originally established by Christ and his apostles. But, in the mean time, 'tis fit that all really good men, who are forced to undergo any sort of difficulties on account of conscience, be willing to assist and support each other in all their necessities which arise on that account: Which is all that is desired and expected by

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

And here the society may please to observe, that altho' this letter produced not the least effect in Dr. *Turner*, to my advantage, nor did I ever receive any sort of answer to it, yet was I willing to suppose

pose that it was still a scruple of conscience, and an opinion easily gone into, by persons of his education and notions, that “ supporting me would be “ supporting an heretick, and encouraging his heresy against the church ;” which prevented the effects of his compassion and charity towards me : so that I still kept the grand secret to myself, not only during the life of bishop *Patrick*, who had promised the prebend to me ; but also during the life of my own patron bishop *More*, till Dr. *Turner*’s own death : after which the discovery could void none of his preferments. And I must needs say, that notwithstanding Dr. *Turner*’s hardship to me in refusing me any assistance, and the many other hardships I have elsewhere met with in my temporal affairs, yet have I been so far from repenting of my procedure, with regard to Dr. *Turner*, that I have ever taken true pleasure and satisfaction in it ; and in particular, have ever rejoic’d that I have thereby been a kind of joint benefactor with him, to such clergymens widows, and orphans, and their families, as are in greater distress than myself and my own family have hitherto been. However, tho’ I am and have long been myself, by principles of conscience, render’d incapable of any preferments among my brethren of the clergy, in the present circumstances of the church, and very well satisfied without them ; yet ought I not to neglect any prudent care of making provision for those my children, who being in a manner, together with their father, incapable of such preferments, yet have rendered themselves, I believe, neither unworthy of, nor unfit for other employments, and those even relating to the sacred function ; I mean, to both learning and religion ; which sort of employments, therefore, they are, which I humbly hope for of this society, either considered as such here, or in their private capacity and interest elsewhere. And since

since I think, on a very moderate computation, and without reckoning interest, it may well be suppos'd, that Dr. *Turner* was, and this society is, 5000 *l.* richer, and myself 1200 *l.* poorer by my behaviour towards him, I may justly esteem myself, *per accidens*, a benefactor to this charitable society in the former, and somewhat more than *per accidens*, a benefactor in the latter sum. Which circumstances are hereby humbly offered to the consideration of this society.

London, May 13, 1731.

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. When the society were informed of this matter, it was not denied but I had an equitable claim to some assistance for my family; but no opportunity offering, I was obliged to sit down contented without it.

In this year also, I published *Proposals for erecting Societies for promoting Primitive Christianity*, and gave them away in great numbers, *gratis*, in half a sheet; which I shall reprint at the end of these *Memoirs*, with the like intention of reviving that society.

N. B. These proposals were afterwards reprinted, and inserted at the end of the small edition of the four volumes of *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*. But because they were a few years afterward carefully revis'd, abridg'd, and improv'd, at the first setting up of such a society at my house, of which presently. This first copy is to be looked on as not so perfect, as the other: tho' I would not have it omitted in any future editions of the book before-mentioned: the perfect copy is already printed in my *Life of Dr. Clarke*.

About

About the same year, 1712, I printed fifty proposals, for printing a cheap and correct *Edition of all the Primitive Fathers*, before the council of Nice; ending with Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, in twelve volumes: and communicated the same to many of my learned friends, for their improvements and corrections. But not meeting with encouragement then, the design dropt. However, it was about 1723 reviv'd, with great improvements, and some hopes of success, that such an intire set might be gotten into all the parishes of *Great-Britain*, till Mr. Collins, the author of *Grounds and Reasons*, quite diverted mine and others thoughts another way. Which amended proposals are by me inserted into the sixth volume of my *Sacred History of the Old and New Testament*, now published, Page 609—613.

In these two years, 1711, and 1712, my affairs were before the convocation, as the history of that convocation, so far as I was concerned, already mentioned, will shew. What I would here add, is, somewhat about this matter in bishop Burnet's *History of his own Times*; which I esteem a most authentick, and a most valuable history: [especially the conclusion, which is hardly paralleled in any modern composition that I have ever met with.] Now as to this bishop's account of my affairs, they nearly agree with my own, as to the facts; and so they need not here be repeated. But his character of me, and his opinion of the censures of such convocations, cannot be omitted. They are in these words, on these two years, and did me great service among his friends ever after.

“ 1711, An incident happened that diverted the
 “ thoughts of the convocation to another matter.
 “ Mr. *Whiston*, the professor of mathematicks in
 “ *Cambridge*, a learned man, of a sober and ex-
 “ emplary life, but much set on hunting for para-
 “ doxes,

“ doxes, fell on the reviving the *Arian* heresy,
 “ tho’ he pretended to differ from *Arius* in several
 “ particulars ; yet, upon the main, he was partly
 “ *Apolinarist*, partly *Arian*. For he thought the
 “ *Nous* or *Word* was all the soul that acted in our
 “ Saviour’s body. He found his notions favoured
 “ by the *Apostolical Constitutions* ; so he reckon’d
 “ them a part, and the chief part of the canon of
 “ the scriptures. For these tenets he was censured
 “ at *Cambridge*, and expelled the university. Upon
 “ that he wrote a vindication of himself, and his
 “ doctrine, and dedicated it to the convocation ;
 “ promising a larger work on these subjects. —

“ At the convocation meeting in winter, no an-
 “ swer came from the queen ; and two bishops
 “ were sent to ask it, but she could not tell what
 “ was become of the paper which the archbishop
 “ had sent her ; so a new extract of the censure
 “ was again sent to her ; but she has not thought fit
 “ to send an answer to it : so *Whiston*’s affair sleeps ;
 “ tho’ he has published a large work in four vo-
 “ lumes in 8vo. justifying his doctrine, and main-
 “ taining the canonicalness of the *Apostolical Consti-*
 “ *tutions*; preferring their authority not only to the
 “ epistles, but even to the gospels. In this last I do
 “ not find he has made any proselytes, tho’ he has
 “ set himself much to support that paradox.

“ 1712, The censure that was pass’d on *Whiston*’s
 “ book in the former sessions had been laid before
 “ the queen in due form, for her approbation ; but
 “ at the opening of this sessions in *December*, the
 “ bishops finding that no return was come from the
 “ throne in that matter, sent two of their Number
 “ to receive her majesty’s pleasure in it ; the arch-
 “ bishop being so ill of the gout, that he came not
 “ among us all that winter. The queen had put
 “ the censure into the hands of some of her Mini-
 “ sters, but could not remember to whom she gave
 “ it ;

“ it ; so a new extract was sent to her ; and she said,
 “ she would send her pleasure upon it very speedi-
 “ ly ; but none came during the session ; so all fu-
 “ ture proceedings against him were stopped, since
 “ the queen did not confirm the step that we had
 “ made. This was not unacceptable to some of us,
 “ and to myself in particular. I was gone into
 “ my diocese when that censure was passed. And
 “ I have ever thought, that the true interest of the
 “ christian religion was best consulted, when nice
 “ disputing about mysteries was laid aside and for-
 “ gotten.”

Since I have here mentioned bishop *Burnet*, as unwilling to censure good men that differ from the publick, it will not be amiss if I here farther produce another memorable passage relating to him, and not foreign to this history. It is taken out of his life, written by his son, now Mr. Justice *Burnet*. He was much carest'd and esteemed by the principal men of *Geneva*, [about 1686.] He saw they insisted strongly upon their *consent of doctrine* : [this is a formulary, commonly known by the name of the *Consensus*.] Which they required all those to subscribe, who were admitted into orders. He also employed all the eloquence he was master of, and all the credit he had acquired amongst them, to obtain an alteration of this practice. He represented to them the folly and ill consequence of such subscriptions ; whereby the honestest and worthiest men were frequently reduc'd to the necessities of quitting their native country, and seeking a subsistence elsewhere : whilst others, of less virtue, were induced to submit, and comply against their conscience, and even begin their ministry with mental equivocations. The warmth with which he express'd himself on this head was such, and such was the weight of his character, that the clergy of *Geneva*, were afterward released from these subscriptions,

scriptions, and only left subject to punishment or censure, in case of writing or preaching against the established doctrine.

I shall add farther, that so much is to be said for the honour of our dissenters here, that when, *A. D.* 1719, the most remarkable synod or assembly their ministers have had these many years, met, and that on this question also, the majority openly rejected all such unscriptural impositions. And I have seen a list of seventy-three of those ministers, who sign'd their advices to the people of *Exeter*, (for whose sake the assembly was called,) without insisting on any unscriptural declarations: as also the other of sixty-nine, who signed to the contrary. So that, to use the words of the late excellent master of the rolls, *Sir Joseph Jekyl*, on this occasion, *The Bible carried it by four.*

N. B. This I look upon as the first example of a body of christians publick declaration for christian liberty in matters of religion.

The general baptists had also a very great meeting in *London*, about 1730, where the number were about 120, who also came in a manner universally into the same determination, of not making any human explications necessary to christian communion.

In the year 1712, I published my *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, all in one volume, in *English* alone; containing,

Part I. *The larger Epistles of St. Ignatius.*

II. *The Apostolical Constitutions.*

III. *An Essay on those Constitutions.*

IV. *An Account of the Primitive Faith, concerning the Trinity and Incarnation.*

To which are subjoined, *The Proposals for Societies*, and *Primitive Infant-Baptism Reviv'd*, already mentioned.

About the same year, 1712, I published *A Scheme of the Solar System*, with the orbits of 21 comets; in a large sheet of paper, engraved on copper, by Mr. Senex. Price 2s. 6d. Which *Scheme* has been of great reputation and advantage among the curious ever since.

N. B. At the orbit of the comet, No. 22; (for tho' they proved to be but 21 at the last, yet because one of them appear'd to have come round three times, and so is here esteemed three distinct comets; and another twice, and so is esteemed two comets; they appear as 24 upon the scheme.) Add ‡ for the place of the ascending node; and change the the order of writing on that orbit, with the length of the tail, from one leg of the orbit to the other, that it may be *direct* in the scheme, as it was in the heavens. See also *The Astronomical Principles of Religion*, page 24, 25, for the periods of one or two more of the comets, which have been discovered since I published this *Solar System*.

At the end of this year, 1712, I printed Dr. Mather's *Old Paths Restor'd*, which had been printed the year before at Boston in New-England; and was an extract of Calvinistical papers, formerly by him publish'd, with a preface of my own; Price 3d. I wish our present Calvinists would read that preface.

In the beginning of the next year, 1712-13, I published, *Reflections on a Pamphlet of Mr. Anthony Collins, intitled, A Discourse of Free-thinking*, 8vo. Price 8d.

N. B. I have been informed, that when bishop Burnet had read this paper of mine, he liked it so well, that he said, "For its sake he forgave me all my heresy."

At the end of March, 1713, I published *Synchronismorum Apocalypticorum Series*, or, *An Epitome of*

of my *Essay on the Revelation of St. John*, in an open half sheet of paper, price 6 d.. But it being much the same with that in my *Essay on the Revelation* itself, formerly publish'd, and was afterward corrected also in my *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*, and again, in the 2d edition of my *Essay on the Revelation*, this may well be drop'd, and not reprinted.

April 23d, the same year, 1713, I sent a letter to Dr. Sacheverel, which I afterwards printed in an half sheet of paper : and still later, I reprinted it among the papers relating to the court of *Delegates*, of which hereafter.

The same year, 1713, I publish'd *Three Essays*, 8vo. Price 4 s. 6 d. containing,

- I. *The Council of Nice, vindicated from the Athanasian heresy.*
- II. *A Collection of ancient Monuments, relating to the Trinity and Incarnation, and to the History of the IVth. Century of the Church.*
- III. *The Liturgy of the Church of England, reduc'd nearer to the primitive standard.*

N. B. This is that *Liturgy*, which I have ever since made use of, at *Tunbridge* and *London*; and in particular, when a few select persons of us, that were no *Athanasians*, and chiefly on *Athanasian* creed days, formerly met together for publick worship, for some years at my house. It contains also the same form of baptism I ever made use of, when I baptized my grand-children and a few others, after they were come to years of discretion, and had been carefully instructed in the principles of christianity : when it is reprinted it should be done with a very few corrections, as they stand in my own copy.

In *September* the same year, 1713, I published *The Christian's Rule of Faith*; or, *A Table of the most ancient*

ancient Creeds : engraved in copper, by Mr. Senex, in one large sheet. Price 1 s.

N. B. The words of *Rufinus's* version, of *Ori-gen's* account of the *Apostolical Preaching*, concerning the Holy Ghost, *honore & dignitate patri ac filio sociatum* ; who is joined to the Father and Son in honour and dignity, are omitted in this table ; as evidently *Rufinus's* addition. See the *Athanasian* confessions at the end of my *Reply to the Earl of Nottingham*.

In November, the same year, 1713, I published *Reasons for not proceeding against Mr. Whiston by the Court of Delegates*. In a letter to Dr. Pelling, under the name of a *Lover of Truth and true Religion*. This was afterwards reprinted under my own name, and inserted into the papers belonging to that court of delegates : of which hereafter.

Now it may be worth our while to observe here, some things very remarkable as to this court of delegates. The *first* is with relation to Mr. Baron Price, who was one of them, and one of the best reputation among them, and esteemed a great lover of the *Church of England* also. Now this Mr. Baron Price went the circuit in the year 1714, to *Stafford* in particular, when Mr. *Turton*, the son of judge *Turton*, was high-sheriff ; and my great friend Mr. *John Lawrence* went with him to *Stafford* as his chaplain, when I also went along with them. At this assizes, the baron, in giving his charge to the grand jury, exhorted them to present all such as blasphemed or condemned the church's doctrine of the *Trinity* : which charge I heard myself to my great dissatisfaction. Upon this, the high-sheriff afterward told the baron that I was in court, and should naturally suppose this part of his charge levell'd against me in particular. The baron reply'd, that " He meant no such

N

" thing ;

“ thing; that it was only his usual form: nay,
 “ that I was the honestest man in the world, and
 “ that he was then reading my works:” which
 declaration agrees with that I heard him say pub-
 licly, in the court of delegates, when the bishop
 of *Winchester*, *Trelawny*, another of the delegates,
 was pressing the judges to hasten their determina-
 tions what was *legal Heresy* only: while, the other
 bishops and himself, as he pretended, well knew
 what was Heresy by the *New Testament*, and the
three first Centuries already: the baron reply’d, that
 they wanted more light in that matter, [by a court
 of adjuncts:] and that for himself, he said to the
 bishop, “ My lord, I will not take heresy upon
 “ my shoulders, nor upon my conscience!” At
 which answer, the bishop express’d his great dis-
 satisfaction. It may also deserve to be noted, how
 uneasy Mr. justice *Tracey*, another of those dele-
 gates, with whom I had some acquaintance before,
 was at this court, as still whispering Sir *Peter King*,
 who was one of my counsel, to move for a prohi-
 bition, that they might get rid of it. It may not
 withal be amiss to make mention of his grace the
 duke of *Newcastle*, my old friend and patron, upon
 this occasion; who gave me ten guineas to fee
 Mr. *Nich. Lechmere*, with leave to keep those ten
 guineas to myself, if he would not accept of them;
 and of Mr. *Lechmere* himself, who, as he would
 not take a fee of me, so did he give me the best
 advice in the world, as I thought, and what I
 highly approv’d of, *gratis*; viz. Not to trust to
 an extempore defence, but to write it down, to
 print it, to read it in open court, to publish it the
 next day; and that then they would move for a
 prohibition: which advice I followed as far as was
 necessary: for the then lord chief justice *Dod*, one
 of the delegates, tho’ greatly teiz’d to appoint a
 day for farther proceedings by the bishop of *Win-*
chester,

chester, was so uneasy at his solicitations, that, at length, he return'd him this short answer, that *he would not be a judge about heresy*: which put an end to the meetings of that court, till the act of grace 1715, which pardoned all such pretended heresy whatsoever.

N. B. It may not be amiss to relate here, some farther particular facts in the course of this prosecution: one is this, that when Mr. *Alexander*, the prosecutor's proctor, came once to Dr. *Paul*, one of my advocates, (and one, by the way, that never took a single fee of me during the intire prosecution, as the other, Dr. *Penrice*, never took any more than one retaining guinea) when I was with him, and begg'd my pardon, and told me, how my asserting that to be primitive christianity, which was then esteemed the grossest heresy, made their hair stand an End. I replied, " Mr. *Alexander*, your party enter into points which they know little of, but which I know to the bottom. They charge me with twelve articles of heresy, meaning the *Arian* heresy, as it was condemned at the council of *Nice*. Now if I could have the same justice done me in this court, which you aim to do in other cases, which I know I cannot have; (for if you should clear me, you would be esteem'd hereticks yourselves) I would put the matter upon this Issue, that if any one of those twelve articles, or any one clause in any of those twelve articles, be any part of the *Arian* heresy, as it was condemned at the council of *Nice*, I will be contented to be burnt in *Smithfield*, and all my papers with me." Another time, when I came to the same advocate Dr. *Paul*, he told me, he had learned that the design was to hasten on the prosecution to a determination or sentence, so very soon after the *Christmas* holydays 1714, as if possible

to get all over before the courts were open in *Westminster-Hall*; that I might be debarr'd the advantage of moving there for a prohibition. And that they had sent for the bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Bp. *Hooper*, the most learned of the bishops among my delegates, accordingly. To which the bishop's answer was, that he would not come up at that time. He also, as I have been inform'd, said, he could go so far with the court against me, as to excommunication. (As he once sent orders to the *Bath*, to have me denied the communion there, which I patiently submitted to) but he could not consent to the sending me to prison; (which was yet the natural result in the course of our law, of such excommunication) nor was it any other than he, as I have heard, who proposed the adjournment of the court *sine die*, and, perhaps, with some inclination that it might meet no more: as, in reality, it did not meet any more at all. Dr. *Paul* also informed me, that he had heard the intention of some of my enemies was to get me once into prison, and then to give out I was disordered, and under that pretence to keep my wife, children, and friends from me; with the additional prohibition of pen, ink, and paper. To such a degree of fear were they driven, and so little did they expect to stop the progress of my doctrine by fair reasoning and examination.

It might be about this year, 1713, that certain deputies from the church of *England* congregation at *New England* arrived here, to ask, in a serious manner, the advice of our convocation, which, in the simplicity of their hearts, they thought to be in earnest for primitive christianity, about this question, whether the *washing the disciples feet*, including that additional command, *I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you*,
John

John xiii. 4—15, does not imply that to be a christian sacrament, obligatory still under the gospel, as well as Baptism and the Lord's Supper : I know not whether the convocation was then sitting, but never heard the question was either then or afterward laid before them ; tho' it was a point much fitter for their enquiry than those which of late they have been engaged in. One or two of these deputies came to Dr. *Smalridge*, and to me. We both agreed, that it was not so intended ; no intimation appearing that the apostles or primitive christians so understood this command ; nor ever practised accordingly : As was yet most frequent and undeniable in the case of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. I also added, that in the apostolical constitutions or canons, the only compleat repository of the laws of the gospel, no such appointment any where appears.

During the meetings of the court of delegates about me, and on the very day they solemnly met, and determined that I must answer to this accusation of heresy ; when I was in the greatest danger that ever I was in through my whole life ; I was so little concern'd at what they were doing with me, that I then first published, and presented to several of my judges, instead of a petition for mercy, as at first they supposed it to be, a single sheet, wet from the press, intituled, *The Cause of the Deluge demonstrated*. It was afterward added to the later editions of my *New Theory*. Page 186—197. It was also printed in the first edition of my *Astronomical Principles of Religion* ; of which presently.

And now, upon occasion of this prosecution against myself, it may not be amiss to give some account of the character and prosecution of Mr. *Woolston*, fellow of *Sidney-College* in *Cambridge*, who for some time made a great noise in the world. But observe, this Mr. *Woolston* has nothing to do with that great and learned, and excellent author of

The Religion of Nature Delineated, Mr. *Wollaston*, tho' he were of the same college, and almost of the same name: which work I have heard the late queen say she had read over three times; and I can say that I have done the same four times myself, on account of its uncommon worth. However the other person, or Mr. *Woolston*, was of the year above me, tho' not of the same college: he was, in his younger days, a clergyman of very good reputation, a scholar, and well esteem'd as a preacher, charitable to the poor, and beloved by all good men that knew him. Now it happened that after some time he most unfortunately fell into *Origen's* allegorical works; and poring hard upon them, without communicating his studies to any body, he became so fanciful in that matter, that he thought the allegorical way of interpretation of the scriptures of the *Old Testament*, had been unjustly neglected by the moderns; and that it might be useful for an additional proof of the truth of christianity: insomuch that he preached this doctrine first in the college chapel, to the great surprize of his audience; tho' his intentions being known to be good, and his person beloved, no discouragement was shewed him there. After which he ventured to preach the same doctrine in some sermons before the whole university, at *St. Mary's*; (one of which I remember to have heard myself) and printed them, under the title of *The Old Apology Reviv'd*. Upon this publication by preaching and printing, his notions appeared to be so wild, that a report went about that he was under a disorder of mind. Which when he heard, instead of that applause he thought he had deserv'd by retrieving a long-forgotten argument for the truth of christianity, he grew really disorder'd, and, as I have been inform'd, he was accordingly confined for a long time; after which, tho' his notions were esteem'd in part the effect

effect of some such disorder, yet did he regain his liberty. When he found himself pretty well, as he thought, he fell a writing to great men, and to his old friends; and insisted on the truth of his notions, and pretended that the reports of his disorders arose only from the inability the learned were under to confute them. Nay, at length, he wrote several pamphlets to prove, that the following the literal sense of the *Old Testament* was no better than *Antichristianism*, tho', in the mean time, he sometimes insinuated, that *Jesus Christ's* own miracles were no other than allegorical miracles, and not real facts; and exposed those miracles, taken in the literal sense, after such a manner, and with such a mixture of wit and scoffing, as if he in earnest intended to abuse and oppose the christian religion. Which design, however, he utterly denied; and seemed to wonder that any should impute such a thing to him; and about the same time he wrote another pamphlet against some of the unbelievers, which was by no means a contemptible one. Things being in this state, and the unbelievers thinking to make use of his folly to lay a blot upon christianity, encouraged him to go on; bought his pamphlets at an high price, and sent them abroad, as far as the *West-Indies*, to do mischief there.

Now during the time when the college and his friends thought his case to be pitiable, and owing in part to a bodily distemper, and, upon that account, the college allowed him the revenues of his fellowship for his support; he came of his own accord to the college, to shew that he was not under any disorder. Whereupon he was called to residence, according to the college statutes, which allow to the fellows, if in health, but eighty days absence in the year. But he absolutely refused to reside, and so lost his fellowship: tho' I did all I could to save it for him, by writing to the college on his behalf.

But the clamor ran so high against him there, that no intercession could prevail for him.

After this, the government fell upon him, and had him indicted in *Westminster-Hall*, for blasphemy and profaneness. At which time I went to Sir *Philip York*, the then attorney-general, but now lord chancellor, and gave him an account of poor Mr. *Woolston*, and how he came into his allegorical notions: and told him, that their common lawyers would not know what such an allegorical cause could mean; offering to come myself into the court, and explain it to them, in case they proceeded: but still rather desiring they would not proceed any farther against him. He promised he would not proceed, unless the then secretary of state, the lord *Townshend*, sent him an order so to do. I then went to Dr. *Clarke*, to persuade him to go with me to the lord *Townshend*; but he refused; alledging that the report would then go abroad, that the king supported blasphemy. However, no farther progress was made in Mr. *Woolston's* trial, till he had published another pamphlet, against our Saviour's miracles, and that with such reproachful words, that tho' I pitied his case, and looked upon it as partly a disorder of mind, I did not think it became me to be farther concerned for him in any publick manner, tho' he had dedicated a pamphlet to me, and came himself to me. I told him, that had not my reputation, as a firm believer of the christian religion, been very good, he had done me great harm by his dedication. I farther told him, that what he now asserted seemed to me nearer to the sin against the Holy Ghost, than what had ever been asserted by any since the first times of the gospel. I withall asked him, why he did not assert that our Saviour was no more than an *allegorical person*, since then he might naturally work *allegorical miracles*? He replied no: There,

There was such a person as *Jesus Christ*. So I took my final leave of him, and prayed God to forgive him. At length the court proceeded against him to a fine and imprisonment. In short, he seemed to me to have so confounded himself with his allegories, and so pleased himself when he found one gentleman, Mr. *Anthony Collins*, to affirm nearly as he did, tho' with a quite different design, that *Jesus Christ* dealt in allegorical prophecies, though not in allegorical miracles; that before he died he seems hardly to have known himself whether he really believed the christian religion or not.

This is a true account of this unhappy man, with his unhappy allegories: and ought to be a caution to all such as study the original books of our religion, how they follow *Philo* and *Origen*, and the like allegorists, of which hardly the least traces appear among either the *Jewish* or *Gentile* christians, till after the destruction of *Jerusalem*; which was thirty-eight years after the death of our Saviour: and to which the fatal introduction of the impure book of *Canticles* into the canon of the *Old Testament*, soon after that time, may most probably be ascribed.

On Feb. 21, 1714, being Lord's-Day, I baptized Mr. *John* and Mrs. *Elizabeth Shelswell*, with the trine immersion, &c. according to the form published by myself in the forementioned *Liturgy of the Church of England, reduc'd nearer to the Primitive Standard*; and administer'd to them both Confirmation and the Eucharist; about seventeen communicants present.

Not long afterward, the same year, 1714, Mr. *Hauksbee* and myself published *A Course of Mechanical, Optical, Hydrostatical, and Pneumatical Experiments*, as performed by us; in twenty copper plates, briefly explained. This has been several times printed, and belongs to the course itself. 4to. Price 5s.

The

The same year, 1714, Mr. *Humphrey Ditton* and myself published, *A new Method of Discovering the Longitude* by signals. 8vo. The second edition is far the most compleat; and was printed the next year, 1715. Price 2 s.

In this last year, 1715, I published *A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*, with the genuine oracles themselves, and the ancient citations from them, in their originals, and in *English*: besides a few brief notes. 8vo. Price 2 s.

N. B. On *Easter-Day*, 1715, we began to have a solemn assembly for worship, and the Eucharist, at my house in *Cross-Street, Hatton-Garden*: according to the form in my liturgy, (about fifteen communicants present.) On *Whitsunday* the same year, we had a second solemn assembly for the same purpose: which was continued several years, at least three times in a year: at *Easter, Whitsuntide*, and *Christmas*.

N. B. In pursuance of my proposals for erecting *Societies for Promoting Primitive Christianity*, such a society was erected about this time: and met weekly at the primitive library, which was at my house in *Cross-Street, Hatton-Garden* (in which house I have heard the famous Mr. *Flamsteed* once also lived.) It lasted about two years, from *July 3, 1715*, to *June 28, 1717*. Of which society, its chairmen, and secretary, and rules, see Dr. *Clarke's* life, 1st edition, page 86—91.

However, I will here add one particular circumstance, not related elsewhere, which concerns this society. When we first met, and were very desirous no bar should be laid in the way of any that pretended to be christians, from joining with us. Mr. *Josiah Martin*, the most learned of all the people called quakers that I ever knew, offered himself

to be a member, and was readily received as such. I then proposed, that we should use some short collects, taken out of our *Common-Prayer-Book*, before we began, and after we ended every meeting, to implore the blessing of God upon our enquiries. To which proposal all readily agreed but Mr. *Martin*, who intirely scrupled joining with us in such prayers, unless when the spirit moved him. Which occasioned a good deal of difficulty to the society. Yet at last we agreed to leave him to himself, to stay either with his hat on or off, as he pleased; and he gave us leave to say our prayers ourselves; nor did he ever disturb us: nor was he afterward an unuseful member, when he came to the society. Only I cannot but observe, that when after many years intermission, an attempt was made for reviving that society, and he was desired to return to it, he commended the design, but seemed unwilling to join in it. I suspect the result of some of his former enquires made him sensible, that examination would not turn out to the advantage of his friends, and he had not courage enough to think of leaving them. However, I must do him the justice to say, that he it was who first put me upon writing the sheet I lately published, for reconciling the four evangelists, as to their several narrations about our Saviour's resurrection.

The same year, 1715, I published several papers relating to my cause before the court of delegates, viz.

I. *Mr. Whiston's Reasons against that procedure*, already mentioned.

II. *The Articles exhibited against him by Dr. Pelling in that cause.*

III. *Mr. Whiston's Defence of himself from those Articles.*

To which was added,

IV. *His Letter to Dr. Sacheverel.*

V. *His*

V. *His Letter to the Bishop of London, with the Answers.*

VI. *His Letter to Mr. Broughton, and Mr. Broughton's Answer*, 8vo. price 3s. But these two last letters being on both sides much too warm, and of little consequence, may be omitted hereafter: nor need the letter to the archbishop of *Canterbury*, page 96—100, be here reprinted any more; it having been printed elsewhere: nor need the observations on *Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* be reprinted here; they being printed at the end of my fifth volume, *The Recognitions of Clement*; and the testimomes there included, more fully in my letter to the earl of *Nottingham*, and its defence; of which hereafter.

Memorandum, that a little before the famous total eclipse of the Sun, *April 22*, this year, 1715, I published two schemes of that eclipse: the latter of which is inserted into that larger collection of schemes; an account of that and of the next total eclipse of the Sun, *May 11*, 1724, which I published a little afterward, and together, rolled, amounted to 7s. tho' my own later scheme of the eclipse, in 1715, was but 2s. 6d.

N. B. This most eminent eclipse, 1715, was exactly foretold by Mr. *Flamsteed*, Dr. *Halley*, and myself: its beginning came to one minute, and its end within four of the calculations. And it was, perhaps, more exactly observed by the *French* astronomers in *London*, and by our own at the royal society, and elsewhere, than any other eclipse ever was. I myself by my lectures before; by the sale of my schemes before and after; by the generous presents of my numerous and noble audience; who at the recommendation of my great friend, the lord *Stanhope*, then secretary of state, gave me a guinea apiece; by the very uncommon present
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of twenty guineas from another of my great benefactors, the duke of *Newcastle*; and of five guineas at night from the lord *Godolphin*; gained in all about 120*l.* by it. Which, in the circumstances I then was, and have since been, destitute of all preferment, was a very seasonable and plentiful supply: and, as I reckoned, maintained me and my family for a whole year together.

Another remarkable circumstance relating to this eclipse, that I had from the lord *Forfar*, deserves to be particularly remembred; which was this: when Mr. *Flamsteed*'s, Dr. *Halley*'s, and my schemes, foretelling, to a minute, when the Sun would begin to be eclipsed, and that it would be total, were cried about every where in *London*, there happened to be a *Mahometan* envoy here from *Tripoly*; who at first thought we were distracted, by pretending to know so very punctually when God Almighty would totally eclipse the Sun; which his own mussulmen were not able to do. He concluding thus, that Almighty God would never reveal so great a secret to us unbelievers, when he did not reveal it to those whom he esteemed true believers. However, when the eclipse came exactly as we all foretold, he was asked again, what he thought of the matter now? His answer was, that he supposed we knew this by art magick; otherwise he must have turned *Christian* upon such an extraordinary event as this was.

N. B. This eclipse of the Sun, tho' I then did not think of it, appears now to have been a divine signal for the end of over-bearing persecution in two of the ten idolatrous and persecuting kingdoms, which arose in the fifth century, in the *Roman* empire, the *Britains* and the *Saxons*. See *Essay on the Revelation of St. John*, second edition, page

page 323, 324. As I look upon the numerous and remarkable eclipses of the astronomical year 1736, to be the like divine signals of the end of all shadow of persecution there. See the same place of my *Essay on the Revelations*; and my intire pamphlet upon that *Astronomical Year*, published 1737, of which hereafter.

About the same year, 1715, I published an astronomical instrument, called *The Copernicus*, for the ready calculation and exhibition of all eclipses, both of the Sun and Moon, past and to come. With a small manual of directions for its use. The price of the instrument was six guineas; and of the manual only 1s. But of this instrument before, at *A. D.* 1710.

June 14th the same year, 1715, I sent a letter to Mr. *Lydal*, assistant to Dr. *Sacheverell*, on his preaching against me at St. *Andrew's, Holborn*, when I was present. This letter I afterwards printed, and gave away to the parishioners of St. *Andrew's, gratis*. It has been added at the end of the collection of papers, about my prosecution in the court of delegates.

About the end of the same year, 1715, I published *St. Clement's and St. Irenæus's Vindication of the Apostolical Constitutions*, from several objections made against them; as also, *An Account of the two ancient Rules for the celebration of Easter*; with a *Postscript*, on occasion of Mr. *Turner's* discourse against the *Apostolical Constitutions*. There was afterwards added a large *Supplement*, containing Mr. *Pfaffius's* account of a most remarkable *Fragment of Irenæus's*, by him just before published. And *Justin Martyr's* account of the *Christian Lord's Day Worship*, of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; with Dr. *Grabe's* and my notes, to shew how very agreeable this account is to that in the *Constitutions*, 8vo. Price together, 1s.

N. B. I well remember, that the very learned Mr. *Wasse* expressed a particular regard to this pamphlet, as of great force for the justification of these *Constitutions*.

It may not, perhaps, be here improper to take particular notice of that branch of this pamphlet which treats of the *Wednesday* and *Friday's* stations, or half fasts, and produces more evidence for their observation by the first *Christians*, than can be produced for their observation of the Lord's Day itself, tho' both be undeniable, page 42—48. And to note, that as the protestants retain hardly any traces of them, or of the other fasts appointed by *Christ* and his apostles in the *Constitutions*, so do the *Roman Catholics*, who profess a much greater regard to them, so far as their church enjoins them, than the *Protestants*, have, in part, corrupted them also, and that, from their known maxim, that *liquidum non solvit jejunium*, that *drinking what is liquid does not break their fast*. A memorable example of which I well remember, and will here set down. I once went to speak with the learned Dr. *Woodward*, the physician; it was on a *Wednesday*, or *Friday*, I do not know which; he offered me a dish of chocolate, which I refused, telling him that I kept the old rule of *Christians*, and should not take any more food 'till three o'clock in the afternoon: he reply'd, that I might drink chocolate, if it were well mill'd, and thereby made a *liquid*, and be fasting still: and to prove his assertion, he produced a thin book in *quarto*, written by a cardinal, to that very purpose. However, neither did the cardinal's authority nor reason move me to alter my own *Christian* practice; nor did Dr. *Halley's* argument, in the like case, move me, when, on my refusal from him of a glass of wine on a *Wednesday*, or *Friday*, for the
same

same reason, he said, "He was afraid I had a "pope in my belly," which I denied, and added, somewhat bluntly, that had it not been for the rise now and then of a *Luther*, and a *Whiston*, he would himself have gone down on his knees to St. *Winifrid* and St. *Bridget*: which he knew not how to contradict. 'Tis much safer to keep the original rules of the gospel, than to invent evasions and distinctions how we may most plausibly break them, which is the way of the moderns, perpetually.

But now it may not be amiss to digress a little, and to give some account of bishop *Hoadley*, our once famous writer of controversy, and observe how preferment, or the hopes of it, alter and corrupts the minds of men: I call him and the rest of his brethren, in this paper, *bishops*, as legally such; without determining whether he, or those others who have so often, and so notoriously, broken the canons of the apostles, and the known laws of *Christianity*, both in their coming in, and behaviour afterwards, can be esteemed *Christian Bishops* or not. Now in the year 1711, after I had published my four volumes of *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, we had a meeting at Mr. *Benjamin Hoadley's* (that was his name then, and I do but transcribe my own account from *The Life of Dr. Clarke*, first edition, page 28, 29.) who, upon our debate about the genuineness of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, thus declared his mind, "That without "entering into the dispute, whether these *Constitutions* were really genuine and apostolical, or "not, he was for receiving them, as much better "than what was already in the church." After five years, in 1716, Mr. *Hoadley* was made bishop of *Bangor*. At which time, I told his lordship, that he had now 500 *l.* [it proved 800 *l.*] a year, to keep the [primitive] *Christian Religion* out of *England*. And, I think, that he has since he was made

made a bishop, (for he was a much better man before,) abundantly verified my prediction. In the first place, he took the bishoprick of *Bangor*, and the 800*l.* a year, which was intended to maintain a resident bishop in that diocese, and this for six intire years together, without ever seeing that diocese in his life, to the great scandal of religion. He then became a great writer of controversy, one of the most pernicious things to true *Christianity* in the world, as well as disagreeable to the peaceable temper of a good *Christian*. And, indeed, this *Bangorian Controversy* seemed, for a great while, to engross the attention of the publick: altho' when a great friend of mine, of ability, and at other time of inclination, to employ his time better, had once acknowledged to the very learned Mr. *Wasse*, who was his friend also, that he was reading the *Bangorian Controversy*, he was justly called no other than a *reptile* for his pains. After this, bishop *Hoadley* was removed from the bishoprick of *Bangor* to that of *Hereford*; and from *Hereford* to *Salisbury*; and from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*. He also, with others of his brethren, raises an estate out of the revenues of the church, for his own family; and with the rest of his brethren, 'till lately, left his diocese almost every year, to approve himself a political bishop in the house of lords; all in direct contradiction to the laws of *Christianity*. To say nothing of his second marriage, when he was old, to a young woman; and his exercise of his episcopal function after such a second marriage, in a like contradiction to the laws of *Christianity*. All which notorious practices, together with the publication of a most injudicious and unlearned treatise about the Lord's Supper; besides his many political writings, quite unbecoming a *Christian* bishop, seems to me fully to have made out my original prediction, that he has taken most effectual care

to keep primitive *Christianity* out of these kingdoms.

N. B. It may not be wholly improper, upon this occasion, to say somewhat of bishop *Hoadley's* grand antagonist, Dr. *Snape*; who once dined with me at archbishop *Sharp's*, with several others of the clergy, about the time that I was first entring on my enquiries about *Athanasianism*; and the discourse falling on the boldness of my attempt, Dr. *Snape*, as I was going away, said to me very seriously, “ Mr. *Whiston*, you are going upon a great design, I pray God direct you in what you are going about.” Which is not very unlike to what Dr. *Gooch*, now bishop of *Ely*, wrote to me upon his perusal of some of my papers in MS. at *Cambridge*.

S I R,

I Heartily thank you for the perusal of your papers. I wish that every man who means honestly, and acts fairly, may meet with, however he fails to give, satisfaction.

Your humble Servant,

T. GOOCH.

As for bishop *Hoadley's* brother, Dr. *John Hoadley*, first bishop of *Fern*, then archbishop of *Dublin*, and lastly of *Armagh*; what I say of him in my life of Dr. *Clarke*, page 29, 30. is this; I cannot say the same of him that I do of his brother, [viz. That he was for receiving the constitutions, as much better than what was already in the church,] but this I say, that he then and ever since has shewn a great aversion to their admission; and indeed to the admission of any old proper *Christian* rules of discipline at all: and he has
always

always esteemed me as one desirous of bringing persecution into the church, by my endeavours for the restoration of that discipline: and no great wonder, for I have long perceived that he, and not a few others of his stamp, and degree of ignorance and folly, are not indeed quite unwilling to admit the *New Testament*, if it will bear an interpretation fitted to their loose way of thinking and acting; but if otherwise, they are ready to say, *We will not have this Man to reign over us.* Accordingly, when Mr. *Arthur Onslow* once acknowledged to me, that he had a hand in recommending him to an *Irish* bishoprick, I told him, with the utmost warmth and freedom, “ That I should
 “ come in a witness against him at the great day,
 “ for his recommendation of so unfit and unwor-
 “ thy a person.” And to make one so grossly ignorant, archbishop of *Armagh*, the seat of the most learned, perhaps, of all the archbishops that ever were, I mean primate *Usher*, was still more absurd and intolerable.

N. B. How little occasion there is for writing or reading modern books of controversy in divinity, in order to a man’s satisfaction, every one may easily perceive, if he will but believe what I assure him to be fact, that above two years ago, besides my former perusals, I did myself read over all the *Christian* writers of the two first centuries, in their original languages, abating the known books of the *New Testament*, twice in the space of five months; and made not a few observations upon them, which I have now by me. I also can assure him, upon those, and my former perusals, there is hardly any difference of opinion in all those writers of two centuries. How easy therefore is it to know, and to practice, true primitive *Christianity*; had men but a sincere desire to know and to prac-

tice it: otherwise, *Non persuadebis etiamsi persuaseris*. But as to the multitude of books now in the world, I have long thought, that if ninety-nine out of a hundred of them were burnt, and destroyed, true sound learning, and true sound religion would be in far better state than they at present are. And now I have had occasion to mention my great friend, Mr. *Wasse*, one more learned than any bishop in *England* since bishop *Lloyd*; and of whom Dr. *Bentley*'s saying is well known, that "When he should be himself dead, he would be the most learned man in *England*." I must be allow'd to enlarge upon his concern in my affairs, studies, and writings. Now it happened, that when I was first noted for an *Heretick*, about 1708, Mr. *Wasse* was put up to preach at an archidiaconal visitation; where he preached so heartily against me, or rather against my doctrine, that the clergy came to desire him to print his sermon: but this he refused to do; because, as he truly alledg'd, he had not examined the matter thoroughly enough for such publication. About the same time, and while I was very busy in discovering, that the larger epistles of St. *Ignatius* were his genuine epistles, but not the smaller; which, at that time, Mr. *Wasse* embraced; he happened to go through a course of experiments, under Mr. *Cotes* and myself at *Cambridge*: When he all along strenuously, and like a critick, endeavoured to support the smaller epistles against me: Nor did he change his mind in that matter, 'till the evidence produced before our *Society for promoting Primitive Christianity*, some years afterward, or A. D. 1717, was laid before him at *Ainboe*; when he intirely gave up the smaller, and admitted the larger epistles as genuine. Nor did the same Mr. *Wasse* fully let go his hold of *Athanasianism*, as he told me himself, 'till he saw my demonstration, that *Tertullian*'s sort of *Athanasian* expli-

explication of the Trinity, in his book against *Proxeas*, was acknowledged by himself to have been taken, not from any apostolical tradition, but from the montanist *Enthusiasm*: which, at the same time, satisfied Sir *Peter King* also. Nay, indeed, Mr. *Wasse* was soon so far satisfied in the truth of the *Eusebian* doctrine, that when Dr. *Lupton* and I had long ago a dispute at *Ainboe*, the doctor looked on Mr. *Wasse* as almost as great an *Heretick* as myself. Nay, he was at last so thoroughly satisfied, that he not only had a great while omitted the *Athanasian* creed himself, and endeavoured to persuade his neighbouring clergy to omit it also; but, in my hearing, he publickly omitted in his church at *Ainboe*, both the third and fourth petitions of the litany; that to the *Holy Ghost*, and that to the *Trinity*, as knowing them to be intirely unjustifiable, and unexampled in primitive *Christianity*; as I had done the very same at *Cambridge* at first, to the great surprize and disorder of the whole university. He also, after he was thus fully satisfied himself, offered, as he told me, to have debated those matters with the late archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Potter*, then regius professor of divinity at *Oxford*, and the other learned men there; but they refused. Yet how any learned christians can go on in the *Athanasian* doctrines and practices, with a good conscience, while they have now, for above thirty-eight years together, refused all offers for examination, either of the *Eusebian* doctrines, or of the genuineness of St. *Ignatius's* larger epistles, or of the apostolical constitutions themselves; whence those epistles are, in great part, taken; to which they have been so honestly and frequently invited, I cannot possibly understand.

After these persons of great note, I shall say somewhat of another sincere friend of mine, tho' not so well known in the world; at whose house

at *Yelvertoft*, *Northamptonshire*, I wrote my *Address to the Princes and States of Europe*; to be hereafter mentioned: I mean my old chamber-fellow at *Clare-hall*, Mr. *John Lawrence*, who first brought me acquainted with his good father, with whom I lived very agreeably for a month together, at Mr. *Brown's* beadhouse in *Stamford*, *Lincolnshire*; where I got acquainted with that great mathematician Mr. *Gilbert*, clerk; and gained some light from him in the first elements of astronomy, at the end of the year 1687, and the beginning of 1688; and where I became acquainted also with that truly great and good man, Dr. *Cumberland*, afterward bishop of *Peterborough*. This Mr. *Lawrence* soon became very inquisitive about Dr. *Clarke's* and my discoveries as to the primitive faith, and to my discoveries about the apostolical constitutions. And, besides those extracts of his letters which have been by me produced upon other occasions, he it was who wrote to Dr. *Clarke* that objurgatory, but friendly letter, about his seeming to have recanted, upon the violence of the convocation against him. And he it was who published that letter and the papers of Dr. *Clarke* in an *Apology for him*, and with his own approbation.

And now I have spoken so much of bishop and archbishop *Hoadly*, of Mr. *Wasse*, and Mr. *Lawrence*, I must say somewhat of bishop *Gibson*; one of quite another character than the fore-mentioned bishop and archbishop: one that I think married but once; and changed his diocese but once, viz. from *Lincoln* to *London*; one who has written several devotional and practical manuals, with good reputation: one who performed divine offices in a sober, and grave, and solemn way, becoming a christian bishop: one of such great generosity, that he freely gave the 2500*l.* left him by Dr. *Crow*, once his chaplain, to Dr. *Crow's* own relations:
and

and one, who, in the reign of king *George I.* preached against that gross court-foolery of *Masquerades*, and procured an address to the king from several of his brethren the bishops, to put them down; tho' without effect: which, in my opinion, was an action both very bold, and very meritorious. This bishop has also published several sober pastoral letters to his diocese, against infidelity. Yet all this is done in such a way of gross ignorance of primitive christianity, as if he had never heard of any other standard but modern popish canons, and parliamentary laws, and political injunctions of princes; like the infamous doctrine of Mr. *Hobbes* of *Mamelsbury*. 'Tis now about 20 years ago that I wrote to this bishop of *London*, to call the presbyters, deacons, and principal of the laity of his diocese together, in way of primitive christian discipline; and to summon withal before them Mr. *Henley* the orator; whose vile history I knew so well, that I offered to come and *tell it to the church*, according to our Saviour's rule, *Matt. xviii. 17.* in order to his vindication of himself, or conviction, and exclusion from the christian society; provided all were done without any temporal penalties whatsoever: of which true ecclesiastical discipline knows nothing. The answer returned me from the bishop, by Dr. *Nathaniel Marsbal*, was this, "that since no canon [now in "force] enabled him so to proceed, he could do no-
"thing." Since which time Mr. *Henley* has gone on, for above twenty years more, and still goes on without controul every week, as an *ecclesiastical mountebank*, to abuse religion; to the publick scandal of this church and nation. Nay, when that excellent christian and confessor, Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*, was most unjustly and irregularly refused the communion at *Issington*, by one of the weakest and foolishlest of our modern enthusiasts, Mr.

Stonehouse, then rector of that place; and Mr. *Emlyn* had written a sober christian letter to the bishop of *London*, to desire his interposition for his re-admission to that holy ordinance, which Mr. *Stonehouse* used not till then to scruple giving him; he returned such an answer, which I have seen, as refer'd the justness of his refusal to some civilians or canonists only; without any thing in it like a christian bishop. I have said not unfrequently, that this bishop seemed to think the church of *England*, as it just then happend to be, established by modern laws and canons, came down from heaven, with the athanasian creed in its hand. Accordingly I believe my late lord of *London*, with his brother and friend bishop *Smallbroke*, took the most effectual care of all other bishops, that the *Eusebians* or primitive christians should be publickly *curst* thirteen times every year, in their two dioceses; by the reading the monstrous *Athanasian* creed by their clergy. Whether they can believe it or not; I call it a *monstrous Creed*, in the words of the very learned Dr. *Kuster*, who to me, many years ago called the doctrine therein contain'd, *monstrum Trinitatis*. He said also, in my hearing, upon his perusal of the third volume of my *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, what shall we say to Mr. *Whiston* about the constitutions? what shall we say to him? as being utterly at a loss how to answer the evidence I had there produced for them. However, there was a time, before queen *Caroline* died, when this bishop of *London* seemed not so obstinate in these matters. I once waited upon him, it was probably about the year 1735, and probably for his subscription to my *Josephus*: he treated me very kindly; and I asked him, since he was a great canonist, whether the canons of the apostles [at least the first fifty] were not part of our own canon law in *England* at this day? and if so, why they

they did not stand at the beginning of his codex ; as they usually do even in the popish collections themselves ; his answer was, that he thought they were abrogated by the 25th of *Henry VIII.* An answer to me sufficiently strange and surprizing ; who not only acknowledged no power in any parliament to abrogate our Saviour's own laws, by his apostles ; but afterward found, upon farther enquiry, that these canons were not yet abrogated by that or any other law in this nation ; but continue to be still part of its ecclesiastical laws : but only so very good ones, as in our *wicked, silly, selfish Age*, as *Dr. Newton* justly stiles it, against pluralities, *Preface*, page 18, are every where given up for impracticable. However, when I farther insisted with his lordship for the examination of the intire apostolical constitutions, and complained that the labours and studies, and books of our divines at present, were so remote from the primitive ages, that till they laid all the moderns aside for a good while, and read none but the first two or three centuries, they were incapable of judging well about that matter : He said, that might be a good way. And if once our bishops would lay aside those their present unwarrantable impositions, which can no way be supported by the primitive records, and fall to the perusal of the most primitive ages in earnest, both the clergy and laity would certainly follow their examples ; and that most important matter might soon be determined, to the greatest satisfaction of all good christians : who, for want of such a standard, do rove about uncertainly from one hypothesis, party, or pretender to another ; nay sometimes become scepticks or infidels as to our common christianity itself. Moreover, this bishop of *London* did not only patronize that horrible curse upon the *Eusebians* or christians,

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the *Athanasian* creed, but long supported an annual lecture, I mean that founded by the lady *Moyer*, against the *Eusebians* or christians, under the false name of *Arians*: and this even since the publication of my pamphlet concerning *Athanasian Forgeries, and its Appendix, or Appeal to xxx Primitive Councils against the Athanasian Heresy*; which, I venture to say it openly, have rendred all vindications of it, in the way of learning, absolutely impossible. One thing farther I have to observe in the conduct of this bishop, during the many years he was the grand recommender to ecclesiastical preferments at court, *viz.* That he took vast care to keep out such as were suspected not to be *Athanasians*, till at length Dr. *Rundle* was recommended by the lord chancellor *Talbot*, whom I well knew to be no *Athanasian*, but once a zealous promoter of primitive christianity, upon the foot of the apostolical constitutions, till the usual corrupter of clergymen, the prospect of preferment, diverted him another way: I say the bishop's over-grown zeal against his promotion, and the over-earnest solicitations for the easy recovery of tithes to the clergy from the quakers, at length overset him at court, and procured his exclusion from any such high pretensions. And this, which is to me very remarkable, in the celebrated *Astronomical Year 1736*; as I have observed in the second edition of my *Essay on the Revelation*, page 320, — 324. For which stoppage to his career, of bringing on a *Codex Persecution*, which I was at that time aware of, he ought sincerely to have thanked Divine Providence; lest at the great day he should have been found, not among the orthodox promoters of truth, but the heretical persecutors of the christian religion.

And now I am upon the character of our archbishops and bishops, particularly the late bishop of
London,

London, who was once esteemed the heir apparent of the archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, till the unhappy circumstances already mentioned befel him, it may not be improper to set down a large letter of mine to archbishop *Wake*, who, in the year 1721, united with the then lord *Nottingham*, to bring in such a new test upon those called *Arians*, as the bishop of *London* himself, as it was supposed, wrote against, under the title of *Remarks on Part of a Bill lately brought into the House of Lords*. This paper I have by me ; and it has been already mentioned. And tho' it was not written in the least out of favour to the *Arians*, yet did it, I suppose, help to get the bill rejected. However, my letter to the archbishop is so full and distinct as to need no farther introduction ; and is, I think, one of the most material of all the letters that I publish on this occasion : it runs thus *verbatim*.

*Cross-Street,
Hatton-Garden, October 25, 1712.*

May it please your GRACE,

TO call to mind, that in the summer of the year 1710, I came from *Cambridge*, in company with Dr. *Laughton* of *Clarehall*, who was then tutor to a relation of your grace's, [*Martin Folkes*, Esq; now president of the royal society:] and with several of his pupils, members of the same college, to wait on your grace, who, at that time, was bishop of *Lincoln*, at *Bugden* ; and to desire your permission for printing your *Translation of the smaller Epistles of Ignatius* ; (which had been before published, in your grace's very useful *English* edition of the *Apostolical Fathers* ;) together with my own translation of the *larger Epistles*, in my *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* ; which I was, at that time, about to publish. Your grace will also
call

call to mind, that, upon my coming to *Bugden*, you was pleased to receive me with great humanity and kindness; tho' you well knew what doctrines I had then openly embrac'd, and was going to make publick: insomuch that you was pleased, not only to grant my request for my use of your *Translation of Ignatius's Epistles*, as I did accordingly; but to do me the favour of taking me into your study, and of discoursing freely with me there about the ancient doctrines of christianity; and, particularly, of shewing me your own MS. collections out of the primitive fathers, made much after the same manner that I had made mine; but mainly relating to that controversy against the *Papists*, wherein your grace had been formerly engaged with so great reputation. You was also pleased then to invite me to come over to *Bugden* another time, to stay two or three days with you, that you might more fully discourse with me about those doctrines. Sometime after this, as your grace will remember, I put into your hands my intire *Dissertation on the Epistles of Ignatius*, before it was printed, for your perusal, correction, and opinion: which dissertation you was pleased, after some time, to return, without giving me either your correction or opinion. I also waited on your grace, when you came to *Cambridge*, about the month of *September*, the same year, to discourse with you farther concerning those matters; I well remember the time, because it was when the *Convocation* was about to sit; and when your grace thought it very fit that my papers should be laid before that *Convocation* before they were printed, for their *examination*: which motion I, with great readiness, agreed to. You was also pleased to add this truly *honest*, truly *memorable*, and truly *christian promise or declaration*, which I am sure I never shall, and I heartily wish your grace never may forget,

forget, viz. "That altho' what I then asserted concerning the Trinity, was contrary to what you had believed, even as *fundamental*, all your life; yet did you assure me, that in case you should be one of those chosen by the convocation for the examination of that matter, you would do it with the same impartiality, as if you had never been of the contrary opinion at all." Which appear'd also to be, for several years afterwards, your *real*, tho' not perhaps sufficiently *resolute* sentiments, by your constant conduct in your diocese; as well as at *London*, during that convocation wherein I was so deeply concern'd; and during that later convocation also, wherein Dr. *Clarke* was afterward concern'd.

Seeing then your grace well knows all this to be true, and seeing all the nation do now know that of late years, since you have been removed from *Bugden* to *Lambeth*, your sentiments and conduct have [after some time] been diametrically opposite to your former sentiments and conduct, to that *prodigious degree* indeed, that what your grace formerly promised to *examine* with the utmost impartiality, as possibly no other than the *genuine doctrines of christianity*; you now declare, in open parliament, you would have punished, even *before*, and *without such examination*, with the *utmost severity*, as no better than profane *blasphemy*; I, who among many others, am deeply concern'd in the consequences of such an *amazing change* in your grace; and with regard to whom, with all due respect be it spoken, your grace is not clear of your *obligation*, by a particular *promise*, to promote that method of *impartial examination*, do hereby, in a solemn manner, in my own name, and in the name of many other sincere lovers of *truth* and true *christianity*, humbly desire, and openly insist on such a *publick*, such an *impartial examination*; or,

at

at least, on as plain and publick an *account* of your grace's *reasons against it*.

And here give me leave, my lord, to say somewhat concerning the late celebrated performance of my lord *Nottingham*, relating to one principal branch of that important argument; somewhat that was not so fit to be said in my reply to his lordship, but is fit to be said to your grace, as the head of the *English* clergy; whose solemn and repeated thanks, and those alone, have rendred my lord *Nottingham's* answer so considerable. My lord of *Nottingham*, as your grace knows, has therein undertaken to discuss a very momentous question, relating intirely to the faith of the *three first centuries and an half*, without having so much as occasionally consulted the far greatest part of the testimonies produc'd in my letters from the writers of those centuries; and without pretending to have himself read, by way of preparation, *any one of the writers of those centuries*, excepting the books of the *New Testament*: Nor does his lordship profess to have read, even them, with any other help, but that of certain modern *Athanasian* expositors only; and yet is this *imperfect* and *unlearned* performance, so give me leave to call it, cried up to the skies: the university of *Oxford*, the university of *Cambridge*, and the *London* clergy; three of the most learned bodies of this kingdom, to say nothing of the other addressers, seem to vie one with another in their congratulations for it, and celebration of it. The case is just the same, may it please your grace, as if some honest and zealous *Presbyterian* nobleman, belonging to the kirk of *Scotland*, that had frequently read the *New Testament*, with *Beza's* and *Mr. Baxter's* annotations; and had read *Mr. Clarkson* against episcopacy, and two or three more modern writers of that side, should pretend, without having, even occasionally, consulted

consulted much the greatest part of the ancient testimonies for episcopacy ; or indeed, himself, read any one of the ancient writers themselves, to *determine* that controversy, and to *demonstrate* that episcopacy was not the government of the church, during the four first centuries. What opinion would your grace, and the other real masters of *christian* antiquity, have of the value of such a performance ? But suppose you should farther hear, that the university of *Glasgow*, the university of *Aberdeen*, &c. and the clergy of *Edinburgh*, to say nothing of the classical consistories in the country, were busy also in returning this honest and zealous nobleman solemn *thanks*, for that *imperfect and unlearned* treatise ; and, perhaps, celebrate it as *unanswerable*. What opinion would your grace, and the really learned have of such a procedure ? The application is easy. I do not mean this for derogation to my lord *Nottingham* ; his answer is no ill one, for an *English* temporal peer ; and shews that his lordship has been very much, and very religiously conversant in his *Bible*, and in several good commentators of the church of *England* ; and has a serious regard to what his education and studies have recommended to his belief, and practice as genuine *christianity* ; which are qualifications so very uncommon, and so very valuable, especially at this time, in an *English* temporal peer, that his lordship justly deserves very great commendations on these accounts. But how honourable so ever it be for an *English* peer among the laity, to be able to write such an answer, I venture to say, it is not at all honourable for those learned bodies of the *clergy*, to have so solemnly celebrated that answer, as if it were a really learned and considerable performance, and likely to contribute to the determination of the controversy itself. They must themselves be very weak,
and

and very much unacquainted with *christian* antiquity that think so. Nor, indeed, have I heard that any one truly learned master of *christian* antiquity, has ever said so. What is then the meaning of all these learned thanks, and this learned noise from the clergy, about my lord *Nottingham's* answer; I believe the thinking part of mankind observe, that to the *Answer* itself there is a *Postscript*, wherein my lord *Nottingham*, an eminent peer of *Great Britain*, has openly declared for *church power*, and for *persecution*; and that *hinc ille laudes! hinc gratiæ*. But those last words, *church power* and *persecution*, brings me naturally to the present bill for *subscriptions*, and for an *inquisition* to support them. Yet certainly, my lord, this unhappy nation has, of late, had *oaths* enow, *tests* enow, *subscriptions* enow imposed upon them: certainly this unhappy nation has, and that in great measure, by such means, sufficiently sunk the real and conscientious regard to Almighty God; to his true religion, and to all common honesty, justice, truth, and integrity; unless the nation be resolv'd utterly to exclude those few, very few honest men, and sincere *christians*; I mean those who are such by thorough examination and conviction; who still remain, from the common privileges of *men* and of *christians*, on that very account; and of set purpose determine to select those, and those only, for indulgence and preferment, who, with or without conviction, according to M. *Hobbes's* notion, will always be as near as possible, to the legal and establish'd religion, whatsoever it be. Nor indeed, my lord, if the publick proceeds much farther in this way, will there be almost any openly honest men, and sincere *christians*, that dare to appear publickly in these kingdoms. However, my lord, if the church and state do resolve to quench those small remnants of learning, justice, and integrity,

grity, which still remain among us, by the introduction of an *holy office* into these kingdoms, with your grace at the head of it; it would certainly be convenient, for its future reputation, that the *several sorts of blasphemy* referred to in the present bill, may be distinguish'd by *several sorts of penalties*; and that *blasphemy* against *Almighty God* himself; or against his *Only Begotten Son*; or against his *Holy Spirit*, should be punished somewhat more severely than *blasphemy* against *Athanasius*: which yet I perceive is not taken care of in this bill; which *emendation* I would therefore humbly offer to your grace's consideration. I conclude with two plain observations; the one made by an honest *Italian*, who, in the sincerity of his soul, turned *protestant*, and came into *England*, in expectation of finding true religion and piety to flourish here; it was under the ministry of the earl of *Oxford*, when, upon his great disappointment, he said to me with great grief, *No religion in Italy: No religion in England: all politicks, politicks*. The author of the other shall be nameless, but he is one that for some time has carefully observ'd the circumstances of ecclesiastical affairs, and of the principal ecclesiastical persons in these nations; and begs of your grace, and of all others concern'd, seriously to reflect upon it, before it be too late. *Happy*, said this person, *is that man who is not made a worse christian by being made a bishop; and thrice happy that man who is not made a much worse christian, by being made an archbishop*.

I might here add somewhat concerning certain discoveries of my own, of very great consequence, as to the sacred scriptures, and, particularly, the sacred chronology that lies now by me, no ways unworthy of your grace's, or of the learned's consideration, and patronage: the substance of some part whereof I had, indeed, thought long ago to

have communicated to your grace, before it were printed ; but since you seem to me now to have engaged yourself for modern *church power*, instead of primitive *christian discipline*, and for *persecution*, instead of *examination* in the most sacred matters : I have no more to say, but shall forely lament your grace's *fall* from your old *pure and peaceable christianity* ; as did the *Athanasians* the *fall* of the great *Hosius*, from their novel and pernicious *heresy*. I am, my lord,

Your Grace's very humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

P. S. Since I have above made mention of your grace's very useful *English* edition of the *apostolical fathers*, give me leave to set down here a famous passage out of the principal of those fathers ; I mean *Clement* of *Rome*, one so little favourable to the *athanasian* doctrine, that it was with some difficulty that he escaped the censure of *blasphemy* from *Photius* on that account, *Cod.* cxxvi. and yet one *whose name* your grace, with all the learned *christian* world, own, after *St. Paul*, to have been *in the Book of Life*, *Philip.* iv. 3. And see what he thought of *persecution* and of *persecutors* ; even in cases where the pretended criminals had the charge, at least, of contradicting some *fundamentals* of the establish'd religion, if not of *blasphemy*, and of *atheism* also laid upon them, in order to cover the *barbarity* of their enemies proceedings against them. The words are these, according to your grace's own version, page 36. " Look into the holy scriptures, which
 " are the true words of the Holy Ghost. Ye
 " know that there is nothing unjust or counterfeit
 " written in them. There you shall not find that
 " righteous

“ righteous men were ever cast off by such as
 “ were good themselves: they were persecuted,
 “ ’tis true, but it was by the wicked and unjust:
 “ they were cast into prison; but they were cast
 “ in by those that were unholy: they were stoned;
 “ but it was by transgressors: they were killed;
 “ but by accursed men, and such as had taken up
 “ an unjust envy against them: and all these
 “ things they underwent gloriously. For what
 “ shall we say, brethren? was *Daniel* cast into
 “ the den of *lions*, by men fearing God? *Ananias*,
 “ *Azarias*, and *Misael*, were they cast into the
 “ fiery furnace, by men professing the excellent
 “ and glorious worship of the Most High? God
 “ forbid! what kind of persons then were they
 “ that did these things? they were men abomi-
 “ nable, full of all wickedness; who were incensed
 “ to so great a degree, as to bring those into suf-
 “ fering, who, with a holy and unblameable pur-
 “ pose of mind, worshipped God: not knowing
 “ that the Most High is the protector and de-
 “ fender of all such, as, with a pure conscience,
 “ serve his holy Name: to whom be glory for
 “ ever and ever. *Amen.*”

For a farther demonstration of this archbishop’s
 prodigious change of conduct, take these words of
 his own letter to the superintendant of *Zurich*, pub-
 lished at *Zurich*, and afterwards here, in a paper
 then printed, which I have by me, as follows:—
 “ Some of our bishops, says he, are labouring to
 “ pull down the church in which they minister; and
 “ to introduce such licentiousness, as would over-
 “ throw the grace of the Holy Spirit, the divinity
 “ of *Christ*, and all other fundamental articles of
 “ our religion. That it is to be lamented by all,
 “ that these *grievous wolves* are not only not driven
 “ away from the sheepfold, but are received within

“ the walls of the church; and, what is more, pre-
 “ ferred to its honours, its offices, and its govern-
 “ ment! that the ministry, who have nothing at
 “ heart but their own power, and the preservation
 “ of their places, because they think by tolerating
 “ and promoting these men, they shall ingratiate
 “ themselves with the populace, are therefore en-
 “ tirely careless what becomes of the church, of
 “ the faith, or of religion; in short, of *Jesus Christ*
 “ himself, and of his truth.—That he should think
 “ himself guilty of betraying the faith, if he did
 “ not, whenever opportunity served, anathematize
 “ these hereticks and enemies of our religion.”

N. B. That I sometimes comply with custom as
 to the denomination of great men, both in church
 and state, to prevent giving too much offence:
 Such as, *His most Excellent Majesty: His Royal*
Highness: His Grace: The most Reverend, or Right
Reverend Father in God, &c. Without being quite
 satisfied, with the justness of such *flattering titles*,
 as *Elibu*, in our version, calls them, *Job xxxii. 21.*
 or their perfect agreement with the sacred writ-
 ings: which rather, on all occasions, aim to de-
 press human pride and vanity, and to exalt the
 divine Omnipotence and Authority. Accordingly,
 when the present bishop of *Durham* had once told
 me of a doubt he had, whether *Linus*, mentioned
 by *Paul*, with his mother *Claudia*, (for so the consti-
 tutions inform us she was, vii. 46.) 2. *Tim. iv. 21.*
Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and
Claudia, and all the brethren: with no other note
 of dignity than as *one of the brethren*, could be
 the then great bishop of *Rome*; as all the ancients
 agree he was. I reply'd, “ Bishops, my lord, were
 “ not then *right reverend fathers in God*,” which
 quite silenced the objection. And indeed not only
 the *Corinthians*, in writing to *Paul* the apostle, in
 their

their epistle preserv'd by the *Armenians*, stile him no other than their *brother Paul*: but God himself made a law for the kings of *Israel*, that *they should not have their hearts lifted up above their brethren*; meaning their subjects. *Deut. xvii. 20.* And truly 'tis to me not a little shocking, who have long convers'd with plain *Clement, bishop of Rome*; plain *Ignatius, bishop of Antioch*; plain *Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna*; and the rest of the most primitive bishops, to come down to, *The most reverend father in God Lancelot, late lord archbishop of York*: *The most reverend father in God, John late lord archbishop of Dublin, and then of Armagh*: *The right reverend father in God John, late lord bishop of Landaff*: *The right reverend father in God Richard, late lord bishop of Lincoln*: *The right reverend father in God Robert, late lord bishop of Ely*: To say nothing of any now alive: And to compare the admirable characters, but humble titles of the former, with the poor characters, and swelling titles of the other. *My brethren, these things ought not so to be.*

And now having had occasion lately to mention *Dr. Rundle*, as one vehemently opposed by the bishop of *London*, when the lord chancellor *Talbot* recommended him to the court for a bishoprick; and his character and affairs having made a very great noise, it is fit that I, who knew him long and intimately, should a little enlarge upon him in this place. I was acquainted with him first at *Oxford*, in the year 1712, when I came thither to search for records, relating to the apostolical constitutions; and when I was endeavouring to form our *Society for Promoting Primitive Christianity*. He was of *Exeter College*; and soon introduc'd himself and his tutor *Mr. Rennel* into my acquaintance: they both seem'd very sensible of modern errors and corruptions; and very ready

to join with me for restoring primitive christianity ; but Mr. *Rennel* always seemed to think *Oxford* could not afford any but themselves as willing to join in such a society. When Mr. *Rundle* came afterward to *London*, he became an hearty and zealous member of our society ; and introduced into it another excellent young man, Mr. *Talbot*, the son of bishop *Talbot*, who afterwards took holy orders, but died very young ; tho' not till he had recommended to his father, who was then bishop of *Oxford*, but afterwards of *Durham*, not only Mr. *Rundle*, but several others of his intimate friends ; who were greatly prefer'd by him, and at the late queen's recommendation before she died, have by the king been still higher prefer'd to be bishops or deans ; and have I think, been some of the best that have been prefer'd in this reign. Dr. *Rundle* in particular was taken into the bishop's bosom, and family ; and thence came into the great favour of another of that bishop's sons, the truly excellent lord chancellor *Talbot*, (whose sudden death was the most greatly lamented by good men, of almost that of any one, in this age.) However, before this time, and before Mr. *Rundle* entered into holy orders, he became so disgusted at the corrupt state of the church, and at the tyranny of the ecclesiastical laws, that he sometimes declared against obeying them, even where they were in themselves not unlawful ; which was farther then I could go with him. For altho' I think our Saviour never gave even the apostles themselves, much less any modern synods or convocations, any power to make new laws for christians ; he having himself delivered such a body of laws to the apostles, and they to us in their constitutions : yet in cases where they are silent, and the injunctions lawful, I always aim to go by St. *Paul's* excellent rule, *As far as is possible, and as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.*

Rom.

Rom. xii. 18. Which is, I confess, the proper foundation of my obedience in such cases. Now at this time, when he had no design to take orders, but rather desired to proceed in my downright upright way, and to hazard all he had for promoting primitive christianity, he was recommended to *John Cater* of *Kempston*, Esq; near *Bedford*, to teach his only son; where I was once with him; and where another time my old friend Mr. *John Lawrence* was with him; whose character, at that time of his life, take from the same Mr. *Lawrence's* letter to me. “ When I came from *Aynho*, “ I found a letter from Mr. *Cater*, inviting me to “ *Kempston*, whither I accordingly went.—And “ because I found there the most agreeable conversation, especially in Mr. *Rundle*, I could not “ but communicate to you some part of my pleasure, after a pretty deal of persecution I have “ met with from my neighbouring clergy. I was “ surpriz’d to find so young a man, (to my shame, “ who am fifteen years older) so ready in the “ fathers and ecclesiastical history; and indeed “ so learned in all sciences; but what gives a “ lustre to all, so strictly sober, serious, conscientious, (what shall I say) so daringly good “ and honest in principle, that I thought myself to “ live amongst the primitive christians in the first “ century.”

But now when I was busy in looking into the character of old christian books, and had a great mind to have the sibylline oracles, so frequently quoted by the primitive christians, thoroughly enquired into, I desired Mr. *Rundle* to undertake that work; but he soon found the task too hard for him; so I was forced to examine them myself, with the very kind and very valuable assistance of my son-in-law, *Samuel Barker*, Esq; of *Lynden*, in the county of *Rutland*. [Whose *Hebrew* gram-

mar, which he has been so many years about, if once perfected, and published, would shew how much original authors, even in understanding that language, would outgo all the modern *Hebrew* grammars whatsoever.] Of which oracles I have spoken already. But now I have mentioned my son-in-law, Mr. *Barker*, and his assistance to me in this particular case, I must do him the justice to own farther, his very great assistance to me on many other occasions also; not only by furnishing me with many of the best ancient books, proper to my designs, which I was no way able to purchase myself, but by adding frequently his own great sagacity and exactness in examination, to my own discoveries; in which assistance none but my old bosom friend, Mr. *Richard Allen*, fellow of *Sidney College, Cambridge*, of whom I have made frequent mention in my writings, but now in paradise, can at all be compared to him. Nor is it easily possible for one man to be more obliged to another than I and my family have long been to Mr. *Barker*: may God Almighty reward him for the same both in this and the next world.

Now altho' Mr. *Rundle* was at first so zealous for religion, as a member of our society, yet did not he keep himself in so temperate and abstemious a way of living, as one that seemed disposed to be a confessor ought to use himself to; which made that real confessor, Mr. *Emlyn*, then say, "that Mr. *Rundle* did not seem cut out for such sufferings as confessors are to expect." Accordingly Mr. *Rundle* once invited me to eat a cheese-cake, as he termed it, with Mr. *Talbot*, and himself: to which invitation I agreed, without suspicion of any particular design. But when I came I found such a collation of wine and sweet-meats prepared, as little corresponded to the terms of the invitation. After some time the grand secret was disclosed, and I was informed

formed that they were both determined to sign the thirty-nine articles, and take holy orders, and preferment. This greatly surpriz'd me, and occasioned this short but sharp answer from me; "I understand you well; you are going to leave the paths of uprightness to walk in the ways of darkness, and I will have nothing more to do with you." Now what wonder soever may possess other people, at this my surprize and answer, Mr. *Arthur Onslow*, sometimes chairman of that society, and one that held a frequent correspondence with Mr. *Rundle* by letters, for a great while together, before this time, will not, I am confident, wonder at either of them; to whom I appeal upon this occasion. From this time an intire breach was made between Mr. *Rundle* and me for many years, insomuch that he was afraid to meet me, my reproofs were so sharp, and he was so little able to bear them. However, when he had taken his doctor's degree, and great preferment at *Salisbury* and *Durham*, I was informed, that tho' he had appeared so zealous before for the genuine antiquity of the apostolical constitutions, he said now, they were not written 'till the fourth century; I reply'd, severely, "Make but Dr. *Rundle* dean of *Durham*, and they will not be written 'till the fifth century." Nor did the doctor's great preferment succeed well with him; while by indulging himself in fine costly eating and drinking at *Durham*, he so spoiled the tone of his stomach there, that it never recover'd its natural temper, even when he lived very abstemiously afterward. But then it must be observed farther, that after many years had cooled much of that vehemence which I long had used towards him, a specimen of which the reader may see in my *Life* of Dr. *Clarke*, page 38, 39. and when we were come into a kind of friendship again, (as I must do

do him the justice to say; he was always of a very kind, generous, friendly disposition, and afforded me in particular, considerable assistance in the last years of his life, and even near the very time of his death, when he wrote me a kind letter to send for ten guineas; when he was hardly able to write; and therein desired ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ to his last moments) when, I say, we came into a kind of friendship again, it happened that an unlucky imputation was laid upon him by Mr. *Venn*, minister of St. *Antolin's*, one that I was well acquainted with, and had a good opinion of also; as if Dr. *Rundle* had spoken sceptically concerning *Abraham's* offering up his son *Isaac*. I never met with the words charged upon him, so I cannot give them my reader; the discourse was in the company of Dr. *Robert Cannon*, when Mr. *Venn* was by: this was so charged upon him by Mr. *Venn*, in a letter to the bishop of *London*, and the charge so prosecuted, that it was likely to be urged publickly and legally against him, when Dr. *Rundle* was to be confirmed by Dr. *Paul*. I being, as I have already said, well acquainted with the accuser and the accused, went to them both; and upon hearing what Mr. *Venn* testified, and knowing that Mr. *Chubb*, of *Sarum*, with whom Dr. *Rundle*, as archdeacon there, was well acquainted, had taken particular offence at that part of the sacred history, and had published a pamphlet against it, which I had seen; and thence began to be very sceptical: I suspected strongly that Dr. *Rundle* had been to blame, and had said more than became a believer of the *Bible* to say. Accordingly I went to him, and told him of my suspicion: Dr. *Rundle*, in his answer, utterly denied the charge: but still did not impute any wilful falsehood to Mr. *Venn*; but rather thought the words might belong to Dr. *Cannon*, and by a mistake of the speaker, be ascribed to him: which

Dr. *Can-*

Dr. *Cannon*, we all knew used to say, that “ If he
“ had been a justice of peace in the days of *Abra-*
“ *ham*, and seen him about to offer up his son for
“ a sacrifice, he would have laid him by the heels.”
I charged Dr. *Rundle* farther, that there was reason
to suspect he had learned that profaneness of
Mr. *Chubb*’s pamphlet, or his conversation upon
it. He reply’d, that Mr. *Chubb*’s pamphlet did
not come out ’till a year or two after this conver-
sation, whence arose the present imputation. In
this I did not then believe him; but, upon my
going home, I soon light upon the pamphlet itself,
and found it was as Dr. *Rundle* said. Whereupon I
went again to Mr. *Venn*, and told him, that since
this suspicion of mine about Mr. *Chubb* proved
groundless, I, who had known Dr. *Rundle* so many
years, knew no reason for any such suspicion upon
him; which I also went and told my old and faith-
ful advocate Dr. *Paul*; and assured him that there
seem’d to be no sufficient reason for Mr. *Venn*’s
accusation, or for Dr. *Rundle*’s rejection upon that
account.

And now having given some account of several
of our present bishops, and almost all of them
political bishops also, who spend so much of their
time, not in their own dioceses, where they ought
both to live and die, but in the capital city,
and in parliament: it may be worth our while to
take some notice how little good they do there,
either to learning, morality, or religion; they
being too well known to be little better than tools
of the court, to merit better bishopricks, by vot-
ing as they are directed; which they seldom fail to
do. Yet has there lately been two cases, when
the business they were to do was so prodigiously
gross, one of which was the last gin bill, (which
gin is, by one of the best judges, estimated to kill
no fewer than 100,000 poor people in *Europe*
every

every year, and, by some examples that I have known, I deem that estimation not very extravagant) that not one single bishop could be prevailed on to vote for it: nay, some of them were so unusually bold, as to speak against it. Now what was the consequence of this unanimous opposition? why the bill went through the house of lords notwithstanding; and stands as an act of parliament, assented to by the *lords spiritual*, as well as *temporal*, at this day. Which thing puts me in mind of an answer the lord *Carteret* made sometime since to bishop *Hare*, who, when he complained of the hard words that lord had given some of the bishops in a speech in the house of lords, put him in mind, that his lordship might one day be a minister of state himself, and might then want the bishops votes. This lord replied, “ If I want you, I “ know how to have you.” The meaning of which words are easily understood, without a comment. In short, I cannot but esteem bishops in the house of lords to be the very greatest grievance of *christianity* now in these kingdoms, and utterly contrary to the laws of the gospel. See my *Christian Discipline*, page 62.

I now come to Mr. *Chubb* of *Sarum*, already mentioned, who, from one of the most judicious *christians*, without a learned education, that I had then met with, when he published, or rather I published for him, his *Eight Arguments on the Supremacy of the Father*, A. D. 1714. seems to have degenerated into the directly opposite character of one of the most foolish and injudicious of our modern unbelievers, as a comparison of his *first* and *last* books will demonstrate: and since I was the person who introduc'd him into our society for *promoting primitive christianity*, and took care of the correcting the forementioned first and best book that ever he wrote; and besides introduced him into the favour
and

and family of Sir *Joseph Jekyl*, who allow'd him an annual salary; and when I thought myself obliged to inform Sir *Joseph* afterward, that he was become a sceptick, and to caution him against procuring himself a blot, by openly supporting him; (tho' I never desired him to diminish his assistance to him in private :) he was not willing to believe my representation; which yet time has too certainly verified. Since, I say, this is the case, I think myself greatly obliged to give some account of him, for the satisfaction of the publick, and of posterity, who may light upon his pamphlets, which are become very common. Now it happened that some years after the publication of his *Eight Arguments*, about 1717, or 1718, I was informed that Mr. *Chubb* was becoming a *Socinian*, at the same time that he owned that the *New Testament* favoured those called *Arians*, which, indeed, he had fully demonstrated in his first book. Upon this, I wrote him a friendly letter, which I cannot find any copy of; it contain'd a caution, and a prediction, that he would turn a *sceptick*; which his answer did by no means clear; and which his later writings too fully justify.

It was not, I think, very long after these letters, that I was informed, that what I foreboded, proved true; and that Mr. *Chubb* was become a great *sceptick*, not only in revealed, but in natural religion also; and had written against mens obligations to *pray to God*, as what could not be justified by reason; tho' he did not then disown the obligation to *thanksgiving* for mercies received; tho' I imagine a very little alteration in a train of thoughts, might as well have determined *for prayer*, and *against thanksgiving*. I never saw this pamphlet of Mr. *Chubb's* myself, that I can remember, for I think it was never printed; but had this account from Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*, who
saw

saw it. About this time also it was, I suppose, that he wrote his *Previous Question*, against the morality of that most eminent act of obedience in *Abraham*, when he went to offer his son *Isaac* as a sacrifice to God. This pamphlet gave me the occasion of writing a short treatise, *Concerning God's Command to Abraham to offer up Isaac his Son for a Sacrifice*: which I afterward made the third dissertation prefixed to my *English Josephus*, and which I found gave great satisfaction to the inquisitive; for it was chiefly Mr. *Chubb* that I had in view, when I said near its beginning, that “ This command is become a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence among us; and that sometimes to persons of otherwise good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also.” But as to Mr. *Chubb's* later writings, I perceive they are so wild and extravagant, that I shall say nothing more about them; but put men rather in mind of the words of a wiser man than either he, or any of his followers, which I recommended to him before, in the forementioned dissertation; I mean Solomon: *Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not to thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths. Be not wise in thine own eyes.* Prov. iii. 5, 6, 7. Nor are the late wild writings of Dr. *Morgan*, and Mr. *Elwall*, considerable enough to deserve a place in this account; nor was I so deeply concerned about them myself, as to require me to pursue this digression any farther on their account; only so far, that I think those who preach or write oppositely against such as those, do them a great deal too much honour. If they can fully prove any of the prophecies or miracles, by which the *Jewish* and *Christian* religion are supported to be false, they ought to be heard; but while that is not pretended to, *Nicodemus's* words to *Jesus of Nazareth*, are so perfectly

fectly agreeable to common sense, and the light of nature, that all pretences to the contrary are absurd and unreasonable, in the highest degree, *Rabbi, We know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no one can do the miracles which thou dost, except God be with him.* John iii. 2.

N. B. It deserves greatly to be observed, that abating the present mischief our modern writers against the *Christian* religion do to the weak and wicked part of this foolish age wherein we live, they at the upshot have mightily tended to strengthen and support it, by affording occasion for the truly learned to examine its foundation deeper than they had formerly done. Thus Mr. Chubb's pamphlet against *Abraham's offering up Isaac*, gave me, as I have already said, occasion of tully clearing that matter, in my dissertation thereto relating: thus Mr. Collins's *Grounds and Reasons*, which pretended to prove that *Christ* and his apostles depended on double senses of prophecies, occasioned my discovery, that no such double senses were heard of till the fourth century of *Christianity*. The same book occasioned me to write that sheet of *Proposal*, which demonstrated, that almost all Mr. Collins's assertions in opposition to the *Bible* were utterly groundless and indefensible: and the like might be observ'd of almost all the other pamphlets written against *Christianity*, in this and the last age. Nor indeed, as I verily hope, will all the other follies, and enthusiasms, and disorders, of the present churches and parties, end in any thing else at last, than in sober persons, of all persuasions, laying aside their several peculiarities in religion, and uniting in truly *Primitive Christianity*, as it stands in all the original records of the gospel; and principally in the apostolical
con-

constitutions; which, if it please God, may I myself live to see also. *Amen.*

In 1716, I published *An Account of a surprizing Meteor [or Northern Light,] seen in the air, March 6, 1715-16, at night; containing,*

- I. *A Description of this Meteor from the Author's own Observations.*
- II. *Some historical Accounts of the like Meteors before; with Extracts from such Letters and Accounts of this as the Author has receiv'd.*
- III. *The Principal Phænomena of this Meteor.*
- IV. *Conjectures for their Solution.*
- V. *Reasons why our Solutions are so imperfect.*
- VI. *Inferences and Observations from the Premises, 8vo. Price 6d.*

N. B. Whatever hypotheses have been thought of about these *Meteors* or *Northern Lights*, none do pretend to give any sure account why they were for above 20 years together so much more frequent than in former ages; which fact I know to be undeniable. However, the usual, if not constant direction of the line thro' the middle of the bases of these steams, of about 15° or 16° westward from the north, as all horizontal magnetick needles do here decline at this time: and the center of their cupola, when compleat, usually, if not constantly reclining southward nearly as much from the vertex, as all the magnetick meridians in *England* do, seem evidently to imply, that they are no other than *magnetick effluvia* that occasion them. Tho' how the particular mechanical causes or circumstances thereof do at present act, in their production, is not known. Dr. *Halley* imagined, that one side of each particle was light, and the other dark, and the light part was still toward the south; but could give no probable cause

cause of such a diversity and position, and so could afford us no real satisfaction.

In this year, 1716, I published *An humble and serious Address to the Princes and States of Europe, for the Admission, or, at least, open Toleration of the Christian Religion in their Dominions*, 8vo. Price 1s.

N. B. Tho' this pamphlet has now been published above 30 years, yet has it been hitherto without a reply. And the reason is, because what doubts soever may be moved, whether *Clement of Rome* wrote the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the only books that pretend to be an entire original system of the christian religion, from the mouths of the apostles, at their five synods or councils, which I take to be the plain truth of the case; yet it is undeniable that they contain an authentick account of the worship, discipline, and institutions of the gospel of CHRIST, and of the whole christian oeconomy, both for faith and practice, as they were left by the apostles, and their companions, in the latter end of the first, and former part of the second century, till the martyrdoms of *Ignatius*, *Justin Martyr*, and *Polycarp*. Which is most evident in even the bare notes of *Cotterelius* themselves; which I remember to have heard Dr. *Grabe* call *Aureæ Notæ*, *Golden Notes*; as well as more fully in my *Third Volume of Primitive Christianity reviv'd*, and other later writings; as also in Mr. *Baratier's* vindication of them, out of *Epiphanius* himself; who directly attests that they certainly contained the genuine laws of christianity.

It may not be amiss to take notice here of the consolation I used to receive by *Milton's* character of the seraph *Abdiel*, who was the *only one* of the innumerable wicked crew of invisible beings who

continued obedient to GOD and his MESSIAH, when all the rest fell: it so near fitting my case, who have almost alone attempted to restore primitive christianity, when the rest of my fellow-labourers seemed to give it up, and to content themselves with the hopes of getting rid of the *Athanasian* heresy only; that I could not but frequently solace myself with it: which, with due allowance for human frailty in the application, shall be here all set down *verbatim*:

So spake the seraph *Abdiel*; faithful found
Among the faithless; faithful only he.
Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unshaken, unseduc'd, untterrify'd,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal.

Nor number, nor example with him wrought,
To swerve from truth, or change his constant
mind;

Tho' single.

The friendly powers, do him receive
With joy and acclamations loud, that one;
That of so many myriads fallen yet one
Return'd, not lost. On to the sacred hill
They led him, high applauded; and present
Before the seat supreme. From whence a voice,
From midst a golden cloud, thus mild was heard:
Servant of God, well done: well hast thou fought
The better fight; who single hast maintain'd
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth; in word mightier than they in arms:
And for the testimony of truth hast born
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence. For this was all thy care
To stand approv'd in sight of God, tho' worlds
Judg'd thee perverse.

Which

Which last unspeakable reward of all my honest, tho' imperfect endeavours, I have long used for the restoration of his most desirable thing, truly *primitive christianity*, may our Saviour allot me at the great day. *Amen! Amen!*

In the year 1717, I published *Astronomical Principles of Religion*, natural and reveal'd. In 9 parts.

- I. *Lemmata, or the Known Laws of Matter and Motion.*
- II. *A particular Account of the System of the Universe.*
- III. *The Truth of that System briefly demonstrated.*
- IV. *Certain Observations drawn from that System.*
- V. *Probable Conjectures of the Nature and Uses of the several Celestial Bodies, contained in the same System.*
- VI. *Important Principles of Natural Religion, demonstrated from the foregoing certain Observations.*
- VII. *Important Principles of Divine Revelation, confirmed from the foregoing probable Conjectures.*
- VIII. *Such Inferences, shewn to be the common Voice of Nature and Reason; from the Testimonies of the most considerable Persons in all Ages.*
- IX. *A Recapitulation of the whole; with a large and serious Address to all, especially to the Scepticks and Unbelievers of our Age.*

Together with a Preface, of the Temper of Mind necessary for the Discovery of Divine Truth: And of the Degree of Evidence that ought to be expected in Divine Matters, 8vo. Price 5s. The second edition was printed in 1725.

In the same year, 1717, I improved some hints I had preserved ever since I was a member of the university of *Cambridge*, and, in particular, when I was fellow of *Clare Hall* there, under the titles of *Emendanda in Academia*; & *Emendanda in Collegio*; and presented them to several of my friends, who were most likely to have it in their power to promote a reformation. Those about the college I have not preserv'd, and so can say no more concerning them. But the others were preserv'd, and very well received by my friends: the emendations were agreed to be in general very right and good; while yet none of them put forward towards the reduction of them into practice. They have been already set down.

In *August*, this year, 1717, I drew up a very small paper, containing a *sketch* of my reasons for that opinion I had long embrac'd, and intimated to the world, against the eternity of hell-torments, in my *Reason and Philosophy no Enemies to Faith*; which was a branch of my *Sermons and Essays*, published *A. D.* 1609. page 219, 220, 221. But since I vastly enlarged those reasons, and publish'd a distinct *pamphlet* upon that subject afterward, of which mention will be made in due place hereafter, I say no more about it in this place; only that *Dr. Lee*, in his excellent *Exposition of the Seven Visions of Esdras*, which I read over more than once, in manuscript, long ago, and which are now in *Mr. Law's* hands, is clearly of the same opinion; and blames our later divines for their rashness in that matter.

About this year, 1717, I was desired by a learned *Frenchman*, *Monf. La Roch*, to draw him up, myself, such an *Epitome* of my *New Theory of the Earth*, as he might translate and insert into his *French Bibliotheque Angloise*; which, at his desire, I did accordingly. This *Epitome* is the IVth article
of

of the second part of his third *tome* for 1718, page 410, 441. It is also added as an *Appendix* to the fifth edition of my *New Theory*, in *English*.

About the same year, 1717, it was that I perused that admirable book of Monsi. Renaudot's, styled, *Liturgiârum Orientalium Collectio*, 4to, 2 vol. Price 30s. Printed at *Paris*, 1716. The extracts that I made out of it are published in my *Primitive Eucharist Reviv'd*.

In this year, 1717, I published my *Scripture Politicks*, or, *An impartial Account of the Origin and Measures of Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil*, taken out of the books of the *Old and New Testament*; with a *Postscript*, relating to the report of the committee of convocation about the bishop of *Bangor's Preservative*, and *Sermon* before king *George I.* To which is subjoined, *The Supposal*; or, *New Scheme of Government*; first published *A. D.* 1712, as before mentioned, and now re-printed, 8vo. Price 2s.

In the year 1718, I re-published the account of my *Prosecution and Banishment* from the university of *Cambridge*. This was, at first, added at the end of my *Historical Preface*, 1711; but was at this time re-printed, on occasion of Dr. *Bentley's* prosecution, suspension, and deprivation of his degree, at *Cambridge*, which it was hoped might have occasioned a review of mine, as well as his censures, by a superior authority; but all in vain. With an *Appendix*, containing a farther account of my case; and, particularly, my petition to the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, after they had chosen a new professor, for a third part of the salary; which the statutes of my foundation fairly permitted, if not required, (which statutes are exhibited at large) but which was denied me. Never before printed, 8vo. Price 6d.

This year, 1718, also, I carefully revised, improved, and published, a small *pamphlet*, which was originally written by my own brother, Mr. *Daniel Whiston*, as has been already noted, page 13. Its title was this: *A Primitive Catechism*, by way of question and answer. In two parts. The one for the *Catechumens*, the other for the *Illuminates*. Useful for charity-schools. With the texts proper for the proof of the several answers. And, *note*, that as the present edition was a little defective in the account of the *Eucharist* or *Lord's-Supper*, it must be hereafter supplied from my own improved copy, page 97, 98; and the pages after 56 are to be corrected.

N. B. It is this *Primitive Catechism* upon the want of the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, which I ever make use of for the instruction before baptism, in such as have not yet been baptized; and before confirmation and communion to those that have only been baptized, but not confirmed; (for I have never ventured to rebaptize any.) Accordingly, when I, about seven years ago, supported a charity school of 10 boys and 10 girls, by my own and some friends contributions, for two years and an half, I went, at least, one day every week, to hear them repeat, and explain to them the *Epitome* of this *Primitive Catechism*, which is at the end, and to use the collects out of our *Liturgy*, which were appointed for their morning and evening worship. Other catechisms instruct children in the doctrines and duties of that party that composed them; but this instructs them in the doctrines and duties of *Primitive Christianity*, without regard to any party whatsoever, being all taken out of the *Bible*, or the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Nor is there, that I know of, any party of men now among *Christians*, excepting the *focinians*, but what agree to almost every thing in that catechism.

In

In the next year, 1719, I published *A Letter of Thanks to the Bishop of London*, [Robinson] for his late *Letter to his Clergy, against the Use of New Forms of Doxology*, 8vo. Price 4d.

N. B. The grossness of bishop Robinson's Ignorance in the old doxologies, tempted me to do a thing here that I never did before, nor since; I mean exposing him in a way of banter or ridicule, and so cutting him with great sharpness: which, tho' he highly deserved, yet was it perhaps, a little unfit for me to do; as says *Tereuce*; *Dignus ille contumeliis est vel maxime: Indignus tu qui faceres tamen*. However, I desire this letter may still be published as it was written, with this additional defence, which I made for myself, when the late queen blamed me for what I had done, viz. When the bishop will beg *St. Paul's* and *St. Peter's*, &c. pardon, [for calling their doxologies *New and Heretical Doxologies*] I will beg his pardon: which was owned by her majesty for a just and equitable proposal.

Upon my publication of this *Letter of Thanks* to the bishop of *London*, happened Dr. *Sacheverell's* attempt to exclude me from *St. Andrew's*, which was then my parish church; at which time I published my *Account of Dr. Sacheverell's Proceedings, in order to exclude me from St. Andrew's Church in Holborn*: which is added to the collection of my small pamphlets.

N. B. I was at this time desired by a lawyer, that did not love Dr. *Sacheverell*, to give him leave to prosecute him, for this insult upon me in a church; promising it should cost me nothing. To which proposal I utterly refused to give my consent; and told him, "If I should give my consent, I
" should shew myself to be as foolish and passionate
" as the doctor himself."

The same year, 1719, I published a *Second Letter* to the lord bishop of London, concerning the *Primitive Doxologies*; wherein the *Seasonable Review* of my account of them is considered, 8vo. Price 6d.

In the same year, 1719, I published *An Account of a surprizing Meteor*, seen in the air March 19, 1718-19, at night: containing,

- I. *A Description of this Meteor, from the original Letters of those who saw it at different Places.*
- II. *Some Historical Accounts of the like Meteors before.*
- III. *A Demonstration that such Meteors are not Comets.*
- IV. *That such Meteors are not a Concourse of Vapours above our Atmosphere.*
- V. *That they are prodigious Blasts of Thunder and Lightning, in the upper Regions of our Air.*
- VI. *Observations from the whole.*

In the second edition was added, *A Vindication of this Account*, from the different account given of this Meteor by Dr. Halley, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N^o 363. 8vo. Price of both mine together 6d.

In the same year, 1719, I published a commentary on the *Three Catholick Epistles of St. John*; in agreement with the ancientest records now extant, 8vo. Price 2s.

In the same year, 1719, I published a letter to the earl of Nottingham, concerning the *Eternity of the Son of God, and his Holy Spirit*. In the second and following editions, I prefixed a *Reply* to the lord Nottingham's *Answer*, (which was published

1721) in a large preface: and thereto I added *Athanasian Confessions*, that the *Antenicensē* writers were against the *Athanasian*, and for the *Eusebian* doctrine, 8vo. Price together, 2s.

N. B. My lord of *Nottingham* was highly complimented by the addressees of the two universities, and of the *London* clergy, upon his answer to this pamphlet of mine. Yet, when upon my *Reply*, the earl could answer no more, neither did any member of either university, nor any of the clergy of *London*, nor even Dr. *Waterland* himself, pretend to vindicate him afterward. But what I myself thought of the earl's performance, the reader has found in my long letter to archbishop *Wake*, already set down.

About this time, 1720, I printed and gave away, to some of my mathematical friends, a few copies of a small imperfect *Essay on a Discovery of the Longitude by the Dipping Needle*. But because I afterward made many and great improvements in that matter, and published the whole in a much larger treatise, a year or two afterward, upon that subject; of which presently; I drop this first essay intirely.

In the same year, 1720, I published a pamphlet, intituled, *The true Origin of the Sabellian and Athanasian Doctrines of the Trinity*; or, a demonstration that they were first broach'd by the followers of *Simon Magus*, in the first century, and reviv'd by the *Montanists* in the second; drawn from all the original accounts now extant, and humbly recommended to the consideration of Dr. *Waterland*, 8vo. Price 1s.

On or about the same year, 1720, I take it to have been, that I was refused to be admitted a member of the royal society, by Sir *Isaac Newton*: the case was this; Sir *Hans Sloane*, and Dr.
Edmund

Edmund Halley, and myself, were once together at *Child's* coffee-house, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and *Dr. Halley* asked me, Why I was not a member of that society? I answered, because they durst not choose an *Heretick*. Upon which *Dr. Halley* said to *Sir Hans Sloane*, that if he would propose me, he would second it: which was done accordingly. When *Sir Isaac Newton*, the president, heard this, he was greatly concern'd; and, by what I then learn'd, closeted some of the members, in order to get clear of me; and told them, that if I was chosen a member, he would not be president. Whereupon, by a pretence of deficiency in the form of proceeding, the proposal was dropp'd, I not insisting upon it. Nay, as soon as I was informed of *Sir Isaac's* uneasiness, I told his bosom friend, *Dr. Clarke*, that had I known his mind, I would have done nothing that might bring that great man's *grey hairs with sorrow to the grave*: Nor has that society ever refused to let me come, and lay any of my papers or instruments before them, whenever I desired it; without my being an actual member: which, considering my small ability to pay the usual sums for admission, and annual dues, was almost as agreeable to me as being a constant member. Now if the reader desires to know the reason of *Sir Isaac Newton's* unwillingness to have me a member, he must take notice, that as his making me first his deputy, and giving me the full profits of the place, brought me to be a candidate, as his recommendation of me to the heads of colleges in *Cambridge*, made me his successor; so did I enjoy a large portion of his favour for twenty years together. But he then perceiving that I could not do as his other darling friends did, that is, learn of him, without contradicting him, when I differed in opinion from him, he could not, in his old age, bear such contradiction; and so he was afraid of me the
last

last thirteen years of his life. See my *Authentick Records*, page 1070, 1071. He was of the most fearful, cautious, and suspicious temper, that I ever knew : and had he been alive when I wrote against his chronology, and so thoroughly confuted it, that no-body has ever ventured to vindicate it, that I know of, since my confutation was published, I should not have thought proper to publish it during his life-time ; because I knew his temper so well, that I should have expected it would have killed him. As Dr. *Bentley*, Bp. *Stillingfleet*'s chaplain told me, that he believ'd Mr. *Lock*'s thorough confutation of the bishop's metaphysicks about the Trinity, hastened his end also.

About the year 1720, it was, that I walked to *Burntwood* in *Essex*, where I found my excellent and pious friend, and fellow-sufferer for religion, Mr. *Martin Tomkins*, who had been lately expell'd by his *Dissenting* congregation at *Newington*, on suspicion of the *Arian Heresy*, as I had been from *Cambridge* long before. He was the author of that remarkable and good-natur'd *Appeal to a Turk or an Indian*, about the *Athanasian* doctrine of the Trinity ; which greatly moved good Dr. *Watts*, who had before written for it ; and the late edition of which has, I believe, intirely cooled Dr. *Watts*, and all his friends zeal in that controversy. My friend lodged with Mr. *Barber*, the then *Dissenting* minister at *Burntwood*, who invited him sometimes to preach for him there. The reason of my introducing Mr. *Barber* into these memoirs is this. One of Mr. *Barber*'s ancestors, in the days of bloody queen *Mary*, was become a *Protestant*, and was condemned to be burnt in *Smithfield* ; the faggots were accordingly laid about the stake, to which poor Mr. *Barber* was tied, and were about to be set on fire, when the news came that queen *Mary* was dead ; upon which all knew that her sister *Elizabeth* was to succeed :

succeed: this took away all the power of such officers as were to see the execution, and saved Mr. *Barber*. In memory of which most providential delivery, Mr. *Barber* had a picture of queen *Elizabeth*, that saved him, made, with ornaments about it; and, as he said, "He hoped Almighty God would accept of this his will for the deed, and allow him to be a martyr for religion." So he ordered, by his will, that the same image should be transmitted down, in the eldest branch of his family, for a memorial to all generations; and there it is preserved to this day. When I was there, I either did not know of it, or quite forgot to desire to see it. Nor did I ever remember to inform queen *Caroline* of it, or procure her the sight of it, as it highly deserved; it being, in my opinion, a nobler monument to the honour of that family, than any monument of the military achievements of *Alexander* the Great, or *Julius Cæsar*, or the like murderers of men, could be of theirs. Mr. *Fox* having omitted this most eminent case of a protestant martyrdom, I thought it by no means improper to preserve it in this place.

About this or the next year, upon the death of Mr. *Flamsteed*, which I did not hear of till two or three days afterward, my friends would needs persuade me to put in for that place; as requiring no subscriptions against my conscience, tho' somewhat against my inclination, as rather too old to begin astronomical observations, and not having mechanical accuracy, nor the sharpness of sight, which were requisite thereto. However, I went to my very valuable friend and patron, the then lord chancellor *Parker*, and spake to him about it. His answer was, that he was sorry that I came so late; for he had spoken already to the king for Dr. *Halley*. Whereupon, to make me easy, and shew his great kindness to me, he presented me with a roll of fifty guineas;

guineas; highly to my satisfaction: Nor could I avoid my acknowledgments here for that, and his other generous benefactions to me.

In the year 1721, I published *The Longitude and Latitude found by the Inclinitary or Dipping Needle*: wherein the laws of magnetism are also discovered. To which is prefixed an *Historical Preface*: and to which is subjoin'd Mr. Robert Norman's *New Attractive*; or, *Account of the first Invention of the Dipping Needle*. Price 2 s. 6 d.

N. B. After the publication of this treatise, I found so much encouragement from many benefactors, that I was enabled to procure some new observations of the angle of dip in several parts of the world, in order to perfect this discovery; the substance of which is printed at the end of my *Calculation of Eclipses, without Parallaxes*; of which presently. Which upon the whole cost me a very great deal of pains, to contrive the instruments, and hang them in ships, so as to take the dip, with an exactness sufficient for my purpose; but found the power of magnetism so very weak, and the concussion of a ship so very troublesome, that I had little hopes of succeeding. And when I knew of Mr. George Graham's new discovery of an *Horary* uncertain *Inequality*, as I may call it, both in the variation and dip of magnetick needles, in N^o 383 of the *Philosophical Transactions*, and this as far as half or two thirds of a degree, if not sometimes of a whole degree (which last quantity I once observ'd myself in a dipping needle of my own, of almost four feet long, in the space of eight hours) I perceived that all my labour was in vain, and I was obliged to drop that design intirely.

In the latter part of *August*, and the former part of *September*, this year, 1721, I translated the
psalms

psalms of *David* into *English*, from the best copy now known in the world, which is evidently that in the *Roman Psalter*: which almost always agrees with the septuagint version; but is still somewhat more correct, and more agreeable to the oldest quotations. This has not yet been printed; but ought to be not only printed, but used in all our churches, instead of our other more imperfect copies and versions. The *Prefaces* also to the psalms themselves ought to be taken out of my *Authentick Records*, page 795—845, and prefixed to each psalm, in a new edition.

In the latter part of this year, 1721, a large subscription was made for the support of my family, and for the carrying on my discovery of the longitude by the dipping needle. It is dated *November 20, 1721*; and ought to be here exhibited, as a memorial of the publick spirited men, and my particular friends at that time: and was, by far, the greatest sum that was ever put into my hands, by my friends, excepting the 500*l.* for the survey of our coasts, which yet did not pay the disbursements for which it was allotted: of which in my *Historical Preface* to the longitude discovered by *Jupiter's* planets, *Preface*, page 60.

	£.	s.	d.
King George I. ———	100	0	0
Deduct the Treasury ———	11	1	6
Officers Abatements,			
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Received ———	88	18	6
The Prince of <i>Wales</i> , ———	50	0	0
The Princess of <i>Wales</i> , ———	31	10	0
The Lord Chancellor <i>Parker</i> , ———	21	10	0
The Duke of <i>Chandos</i> , ———	21	0	0
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Carried over, ———	212	18	6
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	£.	s.	d.
Brought over, ———	212	18	6
Master of the Rolls Sir. J. Jekyll, 31	31	10	0
Mr. Molyneux, ———	31	10	0
Mr. Cartwright, ———	10	10	0
Mr. Hutton, ———	10	10	0
Mr. Hedges, ———	10	10	0
Mr. Western, ———	10	10	0
Col. Wyndham, ———	10	10	0
Lord Paisley (a Terrella,) —	5	5	0
Dr. Crow, ———	10	10	0
Sir George Markham, ———	10	10	0
Duke of Montague, ———	21	0	0
Lord Islay, ———	10	10	0
Mr. Edgcome, ———	10	10	0
Earl of Derby, ———	10	10	0
Mr. Ward, ———	10	10	0
Mr. Sanbroke, ———	5	5	0
Mr. Folkes, ———	5	5	0
Mr. Thompson, ———	5	5	0
Mr. Edwards, ———	5	5	0
Mr. Parker, ———	5	5	0
Mr. Anson, ———	5	5	0
Mr. Nailor, ———	5	5	0
Mr. Archer, ———	5	5	0
Sir John Guise, ———	5	5	0
Duke of Kent, ———	5	5	0
Sum total, 470	3	6	

About the end of this year, 1721, by the leave of the editor Mr. Tickell, as well as the bookseller Mr. Tonson, I collected the several ancient testimonies, refer'd to by my great friend Mr. Addison, in his posthumous excellent, but unfinish'd discourse of the *Christian Religion*: which testimonies could not be found among his papers, after his death, by the editor. This collection I made new myself, and left

left it with the bookseller, Mr. *Tonson*, both in their originals; and in *English*, to be added in the future editions of that discourse, as well as to be printed by themselves, for the use of those that had the former edition, tho' neither he nor his family have yet published it, in these twenty-seven years time, to the disappointment of myself, and all inquisitive readers, who cannot but take it very ill from them; nor have I kept any copy of them myself. So that if Mr. *Tonson* suppresses that paper, or has lost it, it is intirely lost both to me and to the publick.

However, I having preserved an account procured from a *Jewish* Rabbi, upon this occasion, which is hinted at by Mr. *Addison*, sect. viii. §. 6. concerning the disappointment of the *Jews*, under *Julian* the apostate, as to their rebuilding their temple at *Jerusalem*; [of which see my *Thundering Legion*, page 42.] I here produce it.

In the days of Rabbi *Jehoshua*, the son of *Hanania*s, the emperor [*Julian*] commanded that the temple should be rebuilt. Now *Papus* and *Julian* had prepared a very plentiful table for the *Jews*, who came out of their captivity, (to help the work forward) from *Hako* to *Antioch*. But the *Cutbeans*, or *Samaritans*, affirm'd to the emperor, that if *Jerusalem* should be restor'd, the *Jews* would pay no more tribute, and would thenceforward rebel against him. To whom the emperor said, "How
" can I leave off this my attempt, after I have published my orders for it?" To which the *Samaritans* replied; "Sir, do but then give order that they change
" the place of the former temple, or else, that it be
" enlarged or diminished some five cubits. This will
" make them leave off their work without any necessity of compulsion." This advice the emperor agreed to, and accordingly he sent such fresh orders to the *Jews*, when they were gathered together in
the

the valley of *Betrimon*; upon the hearing of which they burst out into tears plentifully; and being in a furious rage, they talked of a rebellion; but their great men being exceedingly affrighted at the consequences of a rebellion, begged of Rabbi *Jehoshua*, that he would make a speech to the people, and endeavour to persuade them to a peaceable behaviour; which he did by the fable following: There was a lion who was in great distress by a piece of a bone that stuck in his throat; he promised a great reward to any one that could get that troublesome bone out of his throat. A crane came to him and got the bone out of his throat, and asked for the reward; to whom the lion made this answer, glory in this, as a privilege of thine, that thou hast entered into the lion's mouth in safety, and art got out of it in safety. So my brethren, says the Rabbi, let us be contented that we are come under the power of this nation in safety, and let us go out of it in safety.

These are the words in *Beresit Rabba*, faithfully translated from the end of chap. 64. This happened about the year from the creation 4833, according to Rabbi *David Ganz*, in his *Zemah David*, in the 27th leaf of my edition, and page 2d.

Rabbi *Gedaliah*, in *Shalschelet Haccabbala*, asserts, that this temple, rebuilt at a great expence, fell down; and, that the next day, a great fire, from heaven, melted the tools that remained, and destroyed an innumerable multitude of *Jews*. *Basnage's* history of the *Jews*, p. 547.

Upon occasion of the mention of this person, Mr. *Addison*, who was excellent every way, as a traveller, as a prose writer, and as a poet, who was my particular friend; and who, with his friend Sir *Richard Steel*, brought me, upon my banishment from *Cambridge*, to have many astronomical lectures at Mr. *Button's* coffee-house,

near *Covent-Garden*, to the agreeable entertainment of a good number of curious persons, and the procuring me and my family some comfortable support under my banishment. It may not be amiss to say something concerning them both; with a few words concerning my principal auditor there, the lord *Stanhope*, also. As for Mr. *Addison* himself (whose father, when dean of *Litchfield*, laid his hands on me as a presbyter, at my ordination, 1694.) he was brought up at *Oxford*, with intention to take holy orders; and I have heard it said, that the *Saturday's* papers, in his famous *Settator*, which are generally on religious subjects, were intended originally for sermons, when he should be in holy orders. However, his parts appeared so promising to the lord *Hallifax*, and lord chancellor *Somers*, that they diverted him from his purpose, and procured him 400*l.* a year of king *William*, to enable him to improve himself by travelling: which when he had accomplished, he was at last made secretary of state. Yet did he retain such a great regard to the christian religion, that he began to read the ancient fathers of the three first centuries, before he died; and the last of them that I knew of his reading was *Justin Martyr*, the first of the heathen philosophers, whose writings are now extant, that became a christian, and a martyr: about which time of his life it was, I suppose, that he wrote his before-mentioned work on the christian religion. Now not to enter farther into his life, as foreign to my present design, I shall only relate what I was concerned in myself; I mean my fruitless attempt to see him in his last sickness: for when I was at that time passing to the queen at *Richmond*, by *Holland House*, where I knew from the publick papers he was then sick, and from which sickness he was not likely to recover; I went up to the house, and desired to see my

my friend Mr. *Addison*; but the answer was, that the physicians had given order that no-body should be admitted to see him: I replied, that notwithstanding such order, if he knew I was there, I believed he would see me; but I could not prevail; so I saw him not. As to Sir *Richard Steel*, he has given a character of me in his address to the pope, but tis too ludicrous to appear in this place. Sir *Richard* was indeed eminent for wit; yet was he destitute of true wisdom, in the whole conduct of his life: he wrote very well, but lived very ill: he was a christian in principle, but not in practice: however, not to go too far out of my way in his character, I shall only set down one encounter I had with him at *Button's* coffee-house, when he was a member of parliament, and had been making a speech in the house of commons, in the days of king *George I.* to please the court, but against his own conscience, for the *South-Sea* directors, then under the great disgrace of the nation; and against which *South-Sea* scheme, he had before, for some time, written weekly papers, till he saw he could not recover his post of censor of the play-house, from which he had been turned out, which used to bring him some hundreds a year, without making such a speech. I accosted him thus. They say, Sir *Richard*, you have been making a speech in the house of commons, for the *South-Sea* directors. He replied, they do say so. To which I answered, How does this agree with your former writing against that scheme? His rejoinder was this: Mr. *Whiston*, you can walk on foot, and I cannot. Than which a truer or an acuter answer could not have been made by any body.

As to my principal hearer and friend, the lord *Stanbope*, I knew him well, and esteemed him to be a person of uncommon natural probity. Yet after he had been sometime a courtier, I freely asked

him, whether he had been able to keep his integrity at court? To which he made me no reply; whence I concluded he had not been able to do it. For he would never tell me a lie. Which opinion is but too certainly confirmed by another passage, which I had from the best authority: it was this; lord *Stanhope* was once in company, but leaning on his arm, in a musing posture, seemed to take no notice of them. At last he started up, and in a kind of agony said, well, I am now satisfied, that a man cannot set his foot over the threshold of a court, but he must be as great a rogue as ever was hang'd at *Tyburn*. And tho' such a saying may be esteem'd sufficiently extravagant, yet have I seen so few, or rather none at all, either of the clergy or laity, men or women, made better by a court, and its preferments, and so great a number utterly ruined thereby, as is very melancholy for a good man to think of. It puts me in mind of what that excellent preacher and liver bishop *Fleetwood*, as I have been informed, said upon the like occasion. This good bishop once came to the house of lords a little too early, and over-heard certain persons debating this question, Whether a courtier could be a *Christian* or not? and when, at length, the company perceived he was there, they would needs have his opinion: he reply'd, He was no courtier, nor would determine that question: but he acknowledged, that he had learned so much by their discourse, that it was not very fit for a good *Christian* to go to court. Had I been there, I should probably have given the same reason that I had once a particular occasion to give myself there also, viz. That the maxims of a court are against the maxims of *Christianity*; the maxim of a court is this; that you must always say and do as the first minister would have you: The maxim of *Christianity* is this; that you must always say and do

do according to your own judgment and conscience. Yet alas! alas! all our present bishops and deans, &c. are made by the court! *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* But to proceed.

In this year, 1721, I published *A Chronological Table*, containing the *Hebrew, Phœnician, Egyptian, and Chaldean* antiquities, compar'd together, both before and after the deluge; from the *Samaritan Pentateuch, Josephus, Sanckoniatho, Herodotus, Dicæarebus, Manetho, Eratosthenes, Abidenus, Berosus, Varro, Ptolemy of Mendes*, the *Egyptian obelisk*, the *Parian marble*, and all the other original authors: begun by bishop *Cumberland*, by me improved, and brought down to the æra of *Nabonassar*. Whence *Dr. Prideaux*, in his *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, and *Mr. Marshall's* edition of bishop *Lloyd's Chronological Tables*, carry on the series 'till the times of *Christianity*. In two large sheets, price 2s. See *Collection of Authentick Records*, page 1011, 1041, 1055, 1068. and *Supplement to Literal Accomplishment of Prophecies*, page 124, 125. and *Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix*, page 223, 224, 225. of which last immediately.

In the year 1722, I published *An Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament*, and for vindicating the *Citations* made thence in the *New Testament*. With a large *Appendix*. Containing, in the treatise itself, the following propositions.

I. The present text of the *Old Testament* is, generally speaking, both in the history, the laws, the prophecies, and the divine hymns, or, as to the main tenor and current of the whole, the same now that it ever has been from the utmost antiquity.

II. The *Greek* version of the *Old Testament*, called the *Septuagint* version, as it stood in the

days of *Christ* and his apostles, was agreeable to the genuine *Hebrew* text, as it was in that age.

III. The present *Hebrew* copies of the *Old Testament* are different in many places, from those genuine *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies thereof, which were extant in the days of *Christ* and his apostles.

IV. The modern copies of the *Septuagint* version, since the second century, especially since the days of *Origen*, are also considerably different from those genuine *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies, which were extant in the first century, in the days of *Christ* and his apostles.

V. That intire change, which has been made in the characters of the *Hebrew Bible*, from the *Old Samaritan*, to the *New Chaldee*, was not done by *Efra*, as the modern *Jews* pretend; but by the *Jews* themselves, about the beginning of the second century of *Christianity*.

VI. The *Samaritan Pentateuch*, even as among us, is generally a faithful and uncorrupt copy of the five books of *Moses*, as that *Pentateuch* was extant, both in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, in the days of *Christ* and his apostles.

VII. The present *Septuagint* version of the *Psalms* of *David*, especially as still preserved in its most ancient *Latin* version, the *Roman Psalter*, is a faithful and uncorrupt copy of that sacred book, as it stood both in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies of the first century.

VIII. *Philo the Jew*, the sacred authors of the *New Testament*, the *Apostolical Fathers*, with the primitive *Greek* and *Latin* writers now extant, of almost four intire centuries, do every one make their citations out of the *Old Testament*, not from the present *Hebrew* original, but from one agreeing with the *Septuagint* version thereof; or from some *Latin* translation made according to that *Septuagint* version.

IX. *Josephus*,

IX. *Josephus*, the famous *Jewish* historian, contemporary with the apostles of our Saviour, always made use of the then *Hebrew* copies of the *Old Testament*, and not of the *Septuagint* version, in his *Antiquities*.

X. The genuine chronology of *Josephus* agrees neither with the present *Hebrew*, nor with the present *Greek*, but almost always with that of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*.

XI. The particular periods of *Josephus's* chronology stated.

XII. The *Jews*, about the beginning of the second century of the gospel, greatly altered and corrupted their *Hebrew* and *Greek* copies of the *Old Testament*, and that in many places on purpose, out of opposition to *Christianity*.

XIII. The texts cited by our Saviour and his apostles, and the rest of the writers of the *New Testament*, out of the *Old*, were truly cited by them, and in agreement with the genuine *Hebrew* and *Greek Bibles* of that age.

The APPENDIX contains,

I. The variations of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* from the *Hebrew*.

II. A demonstration that the *Apostolical Constitutions* were written in the first century.

III. That *Sesostris* was that *Pharoah* who was drowned in the *Red-sea*.

IV. A collection of original monuments referred to in my *Chronological Tables*.

To which I added the next year, 1723,

A Supplement, proving that the *Canticles* is not a sacred book of the *Old Testament*, nor was originally owned as such by the *Jewish* or *Christian* church, 8vo. Price together, 6s. 6d.

About this year, 1723, as it is in my life of *Dr. Clarke*, 1st Ed. p. 127, 128. I revised, and improved, and corrected my *Grand Proposal* for publishing a very cheap and correct edition of the *Primitive Fathers*; to be transmitted to every parish of *Great Britain and Ireland*, and our plantations; which proposals are printed in my VIth volume of *The sacred History of the New Testament*, page 609—613.

And give me leave to add farther, that I find most of our present bishops, priests, and deacons, so little acquainted with the primitive writers, that not only our own dissenting brethren, who used to be far inferior to the church of *England* clergy in such learning, but the ordinary popish priests themselves, will be soon able to run them a-ground. And had not our clergy been very much more versed in them, at the end of *King Charles II.* and through king *James II.*'s reigns, we had, humanly speaking, been quite over-borne by the *Jesuits*, and they had intirely conquered us. I give one instance of my own knowledge. My son-in-law, *Mr. Barker*, and myself, wanted the *Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ*: one of the most valuable remains of christian antiquity now known. It is only extant in *Atbanasius's* works, which are voluminous, and the principal fountain of orthodoxy among papists and protestants. However, this excellent piece being no where else to be had, I went to one of our principal booksellers, and asked for some edition of *Atbanasius* that had the *Synopsis*. At length *Commeline's* edition appeared in the shop, which had it. It is a thick folio, and before the *Benedictine* edition, in three folio's, I suppose the best edition of that celebrated father's works. I asked the price, and no more was demanded than 5s. so contemptible is the study of the fathers grown! and so unconcerned are even our *Atbanasians*

nasians grown about *Athanasius* himself! Nor, by my observation of the books bought by our clergy, are the bare two first centuries read by one in an hundred: which yet I have read twice over in five months time. If the two or three first centuries, say the moderns, in effect, be against us, we will also be against them.

At the end of *March*, 1724, I wrote a pretty remarkable letter to a young man, a very honest, inquisitive, deserving friend of mine, Mr. *William Paul*, a student of *Glasgow* in *Scotland*, from whom I have received several very kind letters, which are still preserved. He was then labouring in that university for the restoration of *Christian Liberty*, and *Primitive Christianity*, as I had done at *Cambridge*, and elsewhere. It had not yet been published, so I here exhibit it *verbatim*.

Great Ruffel-Street, over-against Montague-House, London, March 30, 1724.

Dear Sir,

I Received your kind and obliging letter, dated from *Glasgow* the 16th instant; and tho' I be removed from *Cross-Street, Hatton-Garden*, your letter readily found me; nor am I apprehensive that we have any reason to expect an unfair interruption of any literary intercourse between us, of which you seem so very apprehensive. If I see any of the persons you refer me to, or any of those friends you desire me to speak to on your account, I will shew them your letter, as I have done already to Mr. *Emlyn*. The length of your address, and your over-great respect will be best spared hereafter. I shall be a plain hearty friend to yourself, or any other the like pious and sincere inquirers, and therefore I beg you will please to look upon me accordingly. I am very sorry that

that

that when you came into these *southern* parts, 1721, you did not meet with me, nor sufficiently inform yourself where I then was: for tho' I was absent from *London*, yet, very probably, I must have been at my son-in-law's, *Sam. Barker, Esq*; at *Lyndon, Rutland*, within five miles of *Stamford*, the great *North* road. Mr. *Emlyn* is also very sorry you did not go to his bookseller, and enquire him out, he being, very probably, in *London* at that time. As to your coming hither again, in order to our mutual conversation, and the clearing any difficulties you seem to be under, we should be very glad to see you; and with the greatest readiness should communicate our advice and assistance; but the journey is so long, and the charges so great, that unless your own private circumstances will admit of it, or you will venture by sea, as your great mathematician *Mac-Laurin* of *Aberdeen*, I think did, either coming or going, or both, of all which circumstances you are the best judge, we know not how to expect it. You seem to me to resolve openly and honestly to bear the like testimony to some most sacred, but long discarded truths of *Christianity* in *Scotland*, which Mr. *Emlyn* did in *Ireland*, and I here in *England*: In which open and honest way, we have had some few, and but a very few followers here; while almost all those who are privately of our judgment, temporize, or prevaricate, or use political management, to avoid the loss of preferment or persecution. You have, I hope, counted the Cost, and are aware that possibly *Bonds and Afflictions* may be the consequence of such a sincere and undisguis'd adherence to primitive *Christianity*, tho' here, indeed, we seem not to be in danger of such usage at present. However, we, as well as you, are incapable of preferment under the legal establishments, and but a very few
of

of the dissenting congregations will bear persons of our characters to officiate. As for myself, I think it best generally to communicate, as a layman, with the church of *England*, while they permit me to do so, and yet to join no farther than my conscience gives me leave; only we have many years made up a few times in the year, a very small congregation of *Christians*, at my own house, where we there used my liturgy of the church of *England*, reduced nearer to the *primitive Standard*. We also, for two years time, had a weekly meeting at the primitive library, for solemn examinations of the old state of *Christianity*, in order to restore it. But it has dropt several years ago, for want of the assistance of the learned: tho' the minutes of it, so far as we proceeded, are exactly preserved, and ready for publication, when it shall be thought fit. Nor am I willing to engage in any other dissenting publick worship, unless the original form in the *Apostolical Constitutions* may be our foundation.

As to your particular questions; the debate between the convocation and the then bishop of *Bangor* came to no other issue, that I know of, than to make wise men sensible they had both run into great extremes, while neither side would recede from their own imaginations. Dr. *Clarke* has long desisted from putting his name to any thing against the church, but privately assists Mr. *Jackson*; yet does he hinder his speaking his mind so freely, as he would otherwise be disposed to do. The dispute with Dr. *Waterland* seems just now over; and I think the doctor has not made any proselytes this good while, and that Mr. *Jackson's* last book, lately published, tho' answered already, will stick by the doctor while he lives. If the truly great and learned men, who are thoroughly masters of *Christian* antiquity, would openly declare what they
know

know to have been the ancient doctrines and worship of *Christians*, I believe that dispute would be at an end. But they are, in general, too worldly-wise for that. The lord chief justice *King*, when very young, was the author of the *Enquiry into the primitive Constitution of the Church*, which book is in very great esteem. Mr. *Emlyn* meant Dr. *Bentley* in his 331st page, who read a very learned lecture at *Cambridge*, to prove 1 *Job*. v. 7. to be spurious. But he dares not now wholly omit it in the text of his edition of the *New Testament*, which he has promised, but not yet performed. The non-subscribers, I think, gain ground generally with the better sort of dissenters, but the subscribers keep the lower sort. They have much ado to agree together. The address to king *George* you mention, like all such addressees, came to nothing. The unbelievers write so barefacedly against the *Bible*, and would so far pass for free-thinkers in our sense, that it does our honest and *Christian* designs a great deal of prejudice, especially with the high church; and since the publick will amend nothing, and the court is unconcerned about religion, they pervert not a few to their infidelity. This is the sad state of things among us; nor is there any prospect of amendment, 'till providence open some new scene for the revival of primitive *Christianity*. However, my resolution is one: to do all I can in that glorious design, while God continues my life and health, with the liberty of the press; which, tho' prodigiously abused by others, yet affords great opportunities to good men to lay their sincere thoughts before the world, *seris factura nepotibus umbram*. I heartily pray God to bless your, and our honest endeavours, for the recovery of the pure and holy religion of our Blessed Saviour; and to keep us so undefiled in this wicked generation, that we may not fail of
our

our reward from him at the great day of his appearing: And am, with the utmost sincerity, and affection,

Your very cordial Friend and Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

In the same year, 1724, I published *The Calculation of Solar Eclipses without Parallaxes; with the Discovery of the Geographical Longitude of Places by such Eclipses. And an Account of some Observations made with Dipping-Needles*, 8vo. Price 1s. 6d.

N. B. This book has so many mistakes, that 'till they are corrected, I do not desire to have it spread abroad any longer. I am myself now too old to take pains in the review: and as I have heard Sir Isaac Newton say, that no old men (excepting Dr. Wallis) love mathematicks; I may well be excused here, especially when I have been long so busy about things of much greater consequence, as the world has long known, and will soon know it more fully, now my *Sacred History of the Old and New Testament*, in six volumes, 8vo. is published.

In the same year, 1724, I published *The literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*, being a full answer to Mr. Collins's discourse of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*: with a large Appendix, proving that Aristeus's history of the version of the *Pentateuch*, by the LXXII. Interpreters, still extant, is genuine. To which is added, a *single Sheet*, formerly written in opposition to the foresaid discourse, containing also *Proposals* for a collection of *Authentick Records* concerning the *Jewish* and *Christian* religion, 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.

N. B.

N. B. Mr. *Collins's* pamphlet here opposed, when it came first out, made a very great noise, and occasioned me to publish immediately the *Sheet* already mentioned; to shew how very little of what Mr. *Collins* objected, had any real evidence for it; which he never pretended to answer. I well remember that I was then teaching mathematics to a very ingenious *German* youth, the baron *Gemmingen*, who, upon his cursory looking at the bottom of several leaves of that pamphlet, justly, of himself, observed, that the evidences or citations were generally confin'd to the last 200 years, instead of originals; which was an instance of sagacity in the baron, and a kind of confutation of the extravagant pretences of that author.

However, since in the second page of that sheet, I had publickly invited all the unbelievers, and indeed all others whomsoever, to produce and communicate to me their real and original evidence, or genuine testimonies of antiquity, whereby they thought they could disprove the *Jewish* and *Christian* records, if they had any such in their native simplicity. And I had, at the same time, solemnly promised them to insert them faithfully into a collection I was then making: I do hereby declare, that I have never received one such testimony upon that invitation; nor could they send me what could not be produc'd, as will pretty plainly appear, by the fourteen latter pages of that sheet, where I fully confuted Mr. *Collins's* pretences of that nature.

About this year, 1724, it might be, that Dr. *Wilson*, the bishop of *Man*, was heard before the privy council, in a cause wherein he had been put in prison, by the earl of *Derby's* governor of the isle of *Man*, for executing, as tenderly as he could, the ecclesiastical law for defamation of an innocent woman by the governor's wife. I heard the cause;

cause; and, with Dr. *Nathaniel Marshal*, did the bishop what good offices I could. He carried his cause; but was almost ruined by the suit, the charges were so great. The bishop had long been my acquaintance, and had many years before given me the *first*, or rather *only* book, then printed in the *Manks* language; being an explication of our church catechism. He has always appear'd to me as one of the best bishops of our modern ages; and so much the better, as he is clear of the snares and temptations of a lord of parliament. His great worth has been principally acknowledged in the plentiful provision made for his son; who told me very lately, that his father still preaches every Lord's Day, at eighty-three years of age. May the divine providence send forth more such labourers as this bishop into his vineyard, which, perhaps, never stood in greater need of them than at this day.

As I went to *Bath* and *Bristol*, in the year 1724, I passed through *Marlborough*, and there met with one Mr. *Morgan*, who was then a *Dissenting* minister there; but soon left off that employment, and, so far as appeared, because he was become one of us that are called *Arians*. However, he soon fell upon the study of physick, with great pretences of nostrums, and with a great degree of real skill in the *Newtonian* philosophy. When he came to *London* things did not succeed with him; tho' he turned infidel, and with very little knowledge of the scriptures, fell upon them outrageously. yet, when he was going to practice physick at *Bristol*, among the rich *Quakers* there, he wrote a pamphlet for such divine assistance of good men, as might recommend himself to them. Now when I was this time at *Bath* and *Bristol*, I there met with one of the strangest and vilest instances of wickedness, that I have ever heard of.

It was done by the earl of *Effex*; one who was afterward sent envoy to the then duke of *Savoy*, or king of *Sardinia*; but would not admit of any of the *Vaudois* ministers to come and officiate at his chapel, as the usual custom was. Take this account in the words of that *Memorial*, which I drew up at that time, in order to lay it before the then prince and princess of *Wales*, tho' I do much doubt whether it was ever presented to them or not.

A Memorial concerning the Earl of Effex, humbly submitted to the Consideration of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of WALES.

UPON the 16th of *September* last I came to *Bath*, and the next day I dined with my great friend and patron *Sam. Molyneux*, Esq; secretary to the prince, who was then at the *Bath*, where I saw his brother-in-law, the earl of *Effex*; his lordship was then in no very good state of health, tho' somewhat recovered from a much worse state, in which he had been sometime before. The same day I went to *Bristol*, whither I had been invited, in order to go through a course of experiments there; and lodged with *Dr. French*, in *Queen-Square*. Soon after I came thither, I met with one *Mr. Martin*, of *Taunton-Dean*, at *Dr. French's*, whose father was a sadler, of good account, the doctor's tenant. He was there, and was just come thither from the *Bath*, with a lamentable complaint against the Earl of *Effex*, and told a very sad story of that Earl's open impudence and lewdness, in decoying away and debauching his own sister; which yet is well known at *Bristol*, not to have been the first attempt of that kind there. The story was this, That a little while ago his sister, *Martin*, had been apprentice to a manteau-maker at *Bristol*,
and

and was just out of her time, and must needs see a play there, before she went home to *Taunton*, at which play the Earl of *Essex* happened to be present also ; that upon his sight of her, he pretended greatly to admire her, and his passion for her grew soon to that degree, as to offer ten guineas to one *Smith*, a procuress in *Bristol*, to decoy the Girl, who was about eighteen years of age, from her parents, in order to debauch her. This *Smith* accepted the offer, and took a friend of hers, whose name was, or had been, *Morgan*, with her ; they were openly sent down by the earl, in a coach and six, to *Taunton*, with a letter under his lordship's own hand ; which letter the girl's mother told me she still had in her possession, to perswade her to submit to his inclination ; assuring her, upon honour, that every thing should be according to her own desire ; but without any promise of marriage. *Smith*, the procuress, assured her, that the earl was a person of great honour, and one that never did an ill thing ; and that, without question, he meant no other than to marry her. Upon that, the mother, Mrs. *Martin*, went to advise with a gentlewoman of her acquaintance in *Taunton*, whether it were fit for her and her daughter to go upon this offer, in order to treat with the earl or not ? who was so very weak as to advise her, by all means, to go, lest it should be said, that she had neglected an opportunity of marrying her daughter to so great advantage. That upon this they went all back towards *Bath*, and met the earl about ten miles off the place ; that the mother and daughter soon began to acknowledge the great favour and honour his lordship did them, in thinking of a marriage so much beneath himself, and so much to their advantage ; that the earl immediately disclaim'd all such intentions, and denied that ever he had given any commission to *Smith*, to say

any such thing in his name, and storming at her for pretending to do it; and owning, plainly, that he intended her only for his mistress, or whore. *Smith's* apology was, that the girl could not be perswaded to come without that; nor would she, at this interview, bear the thoughts of being a strumpet to any king in the world. So the earl sent them back, in his coach, to *Taunton*, without success. What secret letter or message the earl sent afterward to the girl, or whether the girl repented of her former denial herself, and sent a letter to his lordship to resign herself up to his will, does not fully appear; tho' the earl seemed to suppose the latter case to be truth, in his discourse with me afterwards: however, on *Saturday, September 19*, the earl sent a servant again, on horse-back, privately to *Taunton*; who, under a frivolous pretence of wanting some whip-cord, came to this *Martin*, the saddler, and, as suppos'd, gave the girl some private letter, or made some private agreement for her to go with him. For, on *Sunday*, the girl pretended to be sick, and while the family was at church, went off with the earl's servant to *Bath*; which, when the mother and brother came to know, they took horse on *Monday*, and followed her; but not being able to seize her on the downs of *Bath*, where she was, in the earl's coach, at the race, they came both to *Bath*, and made enquiry after her; but, at first, without success. The brother went soon to the earl, who, after a faint denial of knowing any thing of his sister, at last, confess'd all; and said, tho' he did not keep her by force, yet she was too well guarded for him to seize upon her; and, that unless all the town of *Taunton* came to rescue her, she was secure from his attempts; giving him, withal, a caution, by way of threatening, that he had best take care how he ventured to meddle with her, for fear of mischief

chief to himself. The brother went to the town-clerk of *Bath* for a warrant, to search for his sister, as one who was gone away from her parents, and whom he perceiv'd, at last, to be kept in an house adjoining to the play-house: but the town-clerk, after a frivolous delay, directly refused the warrant. Upon this he went to the mayor of *Bath*, for the like warrant, without any mention of the earl; who bid him go to the town-clerk for a form, and he would sign it; but as he was at the town-clerk's, in order to gain that form, the mayor himself came by, of whom he again desired the warrant; but, when the mayor had discours'd with the town-clerk, he also directly refused it. Upon which the mother and brother, hearing where the girl was, went to the house, and desired to speak with her; but she was under the guard of the mistress of the house, and would not be spoken with, saying, if she should see her mother, she should drop down dead. Upon all which disappointments, they both came to *Bristol*, to their landlord, Dr. *French*, where I lodged, and where I heard, and with great indignation heard from them, the foregoing account. The next evening I spoke of this matter, which was already become very publick and notorious at *Taunton*, *Bath*, and *Bristol*, to the lord *Barrington*, and counsellor *Row*, who were both in our course of experiments, and desired their advice what was fit to be done to recover the girl to her parents; to bring such notorious lewdness in the earl to punishment; and to correct such an open denial of justice in the officers at the *Bath*; or, at least, to prevent the like for the time to come. Two ways were propos'd; either to desire a warrant from the lord chief justice of the king's bench, to recover the girl to her parents; or to indict the earl in *Westminster-Hall*, for de-

coying her from them, or both. But before any resolution could be taken, the earl himself came to *Bristol*, *September 27*, being *Lord's-Day*, and supp'd in *Queen's-Square*, within a few doors of my lodging, at alderman *Elton's*, who was one of the members of parliament for *Taunton*, and who, at the desire of the girl's relations, had already spoken to the earl to restore her to them; but all to no purpose. The earl hearing that I was so near, sent for me; I waited upon him accordingly; and found him in company with colonel *Rosse*, Capt. *Ballandine*, and Mr. *Fielding*. After some time, I said to my lord *Essex*, That I had somewhat to say to his lordship in private; and I desired therefore that we might withdraw into another room; upon which the company offered to withdraw: but his lordship not stirring himself, nor seeming desirous of the company's withdrawing, I repeated my former motion, and told his lordship again, that I had somewhat to say to him in private, and desired we might withdraw. But he reply'd, He had rather I should say what I had to say before the company. I then took the freedom of representing, with the utmost plainness, to his lordship, the heinous wickedness he had been guilty of, in decoying and detaining a girl from her parents, in order to debauch her; that he had lately lost his lady at *Paris*, and was returned home, in a very ill state of health; that providence had just given him some relief, and hopes of recovery, and that this was a very ill requital for such a blessing; that such an open and publick attempt, to corrupt this girl's chastity, was not very unlike the violence offered to *Lucretia*, by *Tarquin*; which the *Romans* would not bear even in their king; but expell'd *Tarquin* for his lewdness, and thenceforward altered the form of their government;

that

that marriage was honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but that *whoremongers and adulterers God would judge*; that his lordship was at liberty to marry a second time, if he found it proper, and was therefore under no temptation to such loose practices; that he ought to send the girl to her parents, and to make what amends he could to them, for stealing away and ruining their daughter; that there was advice taking to lay this matter before the lord chief justice, or bring it into *Westminster-Hall*; that also it ought to be laid before the prince and princess of *Wales*, in order to their discarding a person of such a wicked and lewd character from their service; and that as I myself could, I believed, have access to their royal highnesses, it was probable I should think fit to lay it before them with that design; of which I gave his lordship notice before-hand. To which his lordship reply'd, without any passion at all, that he was utterly against second marriages, and therefore must have a mistress; that he did not keep the girl by force, but that if she would go home she might; his affection for her (however) probably, would not last above three months; and that she was not *now* in the case of *Lucretia*; that however, her brother had best have a care of attempting to seize her, lest he came to some mischief himself; that for the lord chief justice, and *Westminster-Hall*, he did not much care, since he could appeal from thence to the house of lords, which, he believed, would not hurt him; and that for the prince and princess, they were persons of *too good sense*, to be concern'd at what he had done: with the like impudent expressions, in way of justification, and resolution to go on in his wickedness. This behaviour gave me so great an indignation, that I could bear the conversation no longer; and so I took my leave very abruptly, in these or the

like true, but severe words, “ My lord, you
“ are the most abandon’d person that I ever con-
“ vers’d with in my whole life.” That if he
persisted in such his lewdness, I should be a wit-
ness against him at the great day, when both his
lordship and myself should stand before *Christ’s*
judgment-seat. After all which, I am inform’d
his lordship has sent this his strumpet in a coach,
well guarded, to *London*; where I suppose he
keeps her at this day. This, may it please your
royal highnesses, is a faithful account of one of
the most avow’d and publick instances of wicked
lewdness that I have ever met with, in all my
knowledge of mankind. And I verily believe that
if you would please to dismiss the earl from your
service, on this account, you would thereby do a
thing greatly acceptable to God, and to all good
men, as well as to the real benefit and advantage to
the earl, who will otherwise soon bring himself to
the grave, by his present lewdness. It would
also greatly tend to your own honour and re-
putation, and interest, in this kingdom: and if
you take due care of the better character of
him, who shall succeed, you would thereby give
an eminent specimen of the discouragement of
vice and immorality, and incouragement to virtue
and goodness in those about your royal highnesses
persons, which the king himself has been pleas’d
to promise, as to those about his own royal person.
All which is most humbly, and out of the most
sincere good will to your royal highness, and to the
earl himself, submitted to your royal highnesses
serious consideration, by

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

In

In the year 1725, I published *A Supplement to the Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*. Containing observations on Dr. Clarke's and bishop Chandler's *Discourses of the Prophecies of the Old Testament*: With four dissertations;

- I. Upon *Isaiah's* Prophecy, concerning a Son to be born of a Virgin.
- II. Upon *Daniel's* LXX Weeks.
- III. Upon the fourth Eclogue of *Virgil*, as compar'd with the *Sibylline* Oracles.
- IV. Upon the Curse denounced against *Cain* and *Lamech*, before the Flood: Proving that the *Africans* and *Indians* are their Posterity, 8vo. Price 2 s.

It was about the same year, or rather long before it, as I have learned lately, that Dr. *Calamy*, a leading teacher among the dissenters, travelling for his health into *Scotland*, came to *Edinburgh*, when the general assembly was sitting, and there heard such a very nice and particular scrutiny made into the opinions and conduct of a clergyman that came before them by appeal, from some lower judicature, as shewed too great an inclination to set him aside, and provoked Dr. *Calamy* so much, that he whispered to one that was near him, that he never knew there was an inquisition in *Scotland* before; which was overheard by some, who handed it about till it came to the prolocutor himself: where this freedom of censuring the acts of the general assembly was very ill taken. This I had from the doctor's son's own mouth, and from another person then present. And it puts me in mind of the very learned Mr. *Simpson's* case, who was deprived of his professorship in *Scotland*, for being only an *Athanasian* somewhat milder than ordinary. For after that time, I was once at

Hamlin's coffee-house, by the *Royal Exchange*, and was shewed this *Mr. Simpson*, a brother sufferer, at some distance in the coffee-house. But I, by choice, avoided to go, or to speak to him there; lest so small a conversation should be a foundation of a farther accusation against him in his own country.

In the next year, 1726, I published a pamphlet *Of the Thundering Legion: or, Of the miraculous Deliverance of Marcus Antoninus and his Army, on the Prayers of the Christians*. As also, *Of Alexander the Great's meeting the High Priest of the Jews at Jerusalem*; occasioned by *Mr. Moyle's* works then lately published, 8vo. Price 6d.

In the next year, 1727, I published *Mr. Henley's Letters and Advertisements which concern'd myself*; with a few notes, 8vo. Price 6d. See more hereafter.

In the same year, 1727, I published *A Collection of Authentick Records, belonging to the Old and New Testament, translated into English*; In two parts and volumes. Containing,

P A R T. I.

- I. A Dissertation on the Book of *Baruch*: To prove that it is a Canonical Book of the *Old Testament*.
- II. The Epistle of *Baruch* to the nine Tribes and an half; with its Postscript.
- III. Observations to prove them genuine.
- IV. The Septuagint Version of the Description of *Ezekiel's Temple*, according to the *Alexandrian Copy*.
- V. A large Dissertation on the IVth Book of *Esdras*, to prove it genuine.

- VI. A particular Explication of the XIth and XIIth Chapters.
- VII. Eighteen Psalms of *Solomon* Ild.
- VIII. A Dissertation to prove them genuine.
- IX. The third Book of the *Maccabees*.
- X. Some Account of the fourth Book, now lost.
- XI. The Epistle of the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* to the *Jews* of *Egypt*. 2 *Macc.* i. and ii.
- XII. A Dissertation to prove it genuine.
- XIII. The true Origin of the antient Sect of the Magians in *Persia*, from the ten Tribes in Captivity there.
- XIV. That *Zerduſht* their Legislator did not live in the Days of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, but of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.
- XV. That the Religion of *Zerduſht* was that of the *Jews*, without Circumciſion, as it was in the Days of *Abraham*.
- XVI. That the Occaſion of his Inſtitution of covered Fire Temples, was the Miracle that is related in the forementioned Epistle of the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* to the *Jews* of *Egypt*.
- XVII. Extracts out of the Book of *Enoch*.
- XVIII. A Dissertation to prove it genuine.
- XIX. The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.
- XX. A Dissertation to prove them genuine.
- XXI. Fragments of Apocryphal Books of the *Old Testament* now lost; with Notes upon them.

P A R T II.

- I. *Aristeus's* History of the *Septuagint* Version of the Law of *Moses*.

N. B. The Genuineness of this History has been proved at large in my *Appendix to The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*, p. 117—154.

II. An

II. An Epistle of the *Corinthians* to St. Paul, with St. Paul's Answer: In *Arabick*, *Latin* and *English*; recovered now first intire from the *Armenians*.

N. B. It was afterwards published by my Sons in *Armenian* and *Latin*.

III. Reasons for their being genuine.

IV. The State of *Spiritual Gifts* in the Churches; and their Government by Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Age of the Apostles.

V. Of the Magical Arts of *Simon Magus*.

VI. That the *Ebionites* rejected the Authority of all the Apostles.

VII. The Unlawfulness of eating Blood among *Christians*.

VIII. A Demonstration of the Truth of the *miraculous Gifts* in the Age of the Apostles.

IX. Fragments of the *Apocryphal Books* of the *New Testament*, now lost.

X. An *Ebionite* Apocryphal Fragment.

XI. A large Part of the *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*, with *Athanasius's Festal Epistle*, in parallel Columns.

XII. A *Scholium*, proving the *Synopsis* to be as old as *Origen*: With other Observations.

XIII. A compleat Collection of the ancient *Catalogues* of the Books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, *Canonical*, *Contradicted*, and *Apocryphal*: With Notes.

XIV. Appendix (1.) A Table of the Subject and Order of the several Prophecies of the *Old Testament*, from *Isaiah* to *Esdra*s.

XV. Appendix (2.) Arguments to the *Psalms* of *David*.

XVI. Appendix (3.) A Suspicion that a Prophecy of *Micah* has been dislocated.

XVII.

- XVII. Appendix (4.) A Suspicion that a Prophecy of *Zephaniah* has been dislocated.
- XVIII. Appendix (5.) The several Predictions concerning the Destruction of the *Assyrian* Army of *Senacherib* before *Jerusalem*: With the undeniable Evidence of their Completion.
- XIX. Appendix (6.) Concerning the different Statures of Mankind in different Ages, from the Deluge to the Days of *Christ*.
- XX. Concerning the Statures of three Sorts of *Giants* before, and after the Deluge.
- XXI. Appendix (7.) The exact *Time* when miraculous Gifts ceas'd in the Church.
- XXII. Appendix (8.) Of the Corruptions brought into the Church by the *Ebionites*. See also the *Sacred History of the New Testament*, page 279—283.
- XXIII. That *Josephus* the *Jew* was an *Ebionite*.
- XXIV. Appendix (9.) A Confutation of Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology.
- XXV. Appendix (10.) *Armenian Records* taken from the *Archives* of *Edessa*.
- XXVI. Reasons for their being genuine.

In the year 1726, I procured to be made me, by Mr. *Crofedale*, a very skilful workman, but according to my own directions, and at the expence of about forty guineas, a model of the tabernacle of *Moses*, and of the temple at *Jerusalem*, serving to explain *Solomon's*, *Zorobabel's*, *Herod's*, and *Ezekiel's* temples; and had lectures upon that at *London*, *Bristol*, *Bath* and *Tunbridge-wells*. The substance of which important lectures, I added about the year 1728, or 1729, to a large scheme of that model, after I had compared it with Sir *Isaac Newton's* scheme of the temple of *Solomon*, then just published in his chronology, to which it almost entirely agreed. I have also had the like

Memoirs of the Life of

like lectures upon the same model above two years ago, at *Hackney*, and *Tunbridge-wells*, to the great satisfaction, I think of both my audiences; as I intend many more the like lectures, and those that are a preparatory to the restoration of the *Jews* hereafter, while it shall please God to continue my health and abilities to go through them. And this I take to be my peculiar business at present; since I have, I think, plainly discovered, that it will not be many years before the Messiah will come for the restoration of the *Jews*, and the first resurrection, when the last of these temples, the temple of *Ezekiel*, will be built upon *Mount Sion*, as the three former had been built upon *Mount Moriah*. Of which more towards the end of these memoirs. One thing, however, I will add as to this model, when twenty-two years ago I explained it at *Bristol*, viz. that a schoolmaster there, Mr. *Catcot*, by name, one of my auditors, was so affected and pleased with the model and the lectures, that long before I had made that scheme or ground-plot which is now in my *Josephus*, he, from his memory, made one for himself, and brought to me to be corrected. This Mr. *Catcot* I then took to be one of the best scholars, and of as sober a mind as any of my auditors or friends at *Bristol*; whatever unhappy bias afterward made him a proselite, to my real grief and surprize; to that wild *Hebrew* enthusiast Mr. *Hutchinson*.

It may also be worth mentioning, that in this year, 1726, and at my course at *Bristol*, the bishop of the diocese, *Hooper*, who had been one of the court of delegates, that sat upon me in contradiction to the opinion of good bishop *Waddington*, who used to kneel by me when we were there at the communion together, sent orders to the incumbent of the parish to refuse me the communion; which was signified to me by my old friend Dr. *Siddal*, afterward

afterward bishop of *Gloucester*. Upon which I quietly withdrew, without making any complaints to the publick of so great an hardship.

In the year 1728, Dr. *Pemberton* published his *View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy*. I would fain have had him added those famous *Scholias*, or *Corollaries* of his, which are of the greatest value for the support of natural and revealed religion; but I could not persuade him to it. Upon his refusal, I translated them myself into *English*, and published them, with some few additions and notes, the next year, 1729, both in 4to. and 8vo. Price 6d.

In the year 1730, I published *The Horeb Covenant Revived: or, An Account of those Laws of Moses which oblige Christians*. To which is added, *Apostolical Rules for Ecclesiastical Courts*. Written 1739, upon occasion of the trial and conviction of poor Mr. *Robert Hales*, for forgery, 8vo. Price together 1 s. 6d.

N. B. I entered deep into Mr. *Hales's* character and behaviour, which was supported by twenty-seven most eminent testimonies in his favour; and I was to come in for the twenty-eighth, but they durst not call me, since I might have discomposed the scheme that was laid by the pleaders. Yet upon hearing the trial, both I and Dr. *Nath. Marshall* also, as well as some others, were satisfied of his innocence; the papers and vouchers for which, I have still by me. And indeed that trial gave me such a terrible idea of our present courts, and of some of the maxims of law there followed, even where neither the judges nor the juries can be charged with any intention to act unjustly, that I cannot but earnestly desire to see that time, when the sacred gospel of *Christ* may regain its liberty; and when the laws of God shall every-where
take

take place, instead of the laws of men; and when no corrupt maxims or quirks may oblige any then to break that eternal rule of equity, *He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord.* Prov. xvii. 15.

The same year, 1730, I published *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Samuel Clarke*; being a supplement to Dr. Sikes and bishop Hoadley's account: including certain memoirs of several of Dr. Clarke's friends, 8vo.

What a worthy friend of mine, Mr. *John Laurence*, thought of this pamphlet, will appear by the following letter.

Dear Sir,

I Have received and read your memoirs, &c. with a great deal of pleasure; and I herewith return you many thanks for the service you have done to religion in general, and the *Christian* religion in particular; by so freely, and so justly reproving our bishops, for that secularity of spirit, which so visibly reigns in most of them. I cannot see how they can possibly wipe off the offence and scandal which hath been both given and taken by their shameful non-residence, and neglect of their diocesses, but by a speedy reformation. And it hath been justly and rightly observed, that for near two years last past, there hath not been one bishop appeared amongst us in all the north part of *England*. To your honest freedom, in representing the odium, which must arise from such gross neglects; you might, in your memoirs, have added the fatal mischiefs and inconveniences that must necessarily follow, from the evil example of such bishops. For with what grace can a non-resident

resident bishop reprove, (and sure reproof is necessary) his non-resident clergy? and so indeed it proves in fact, the mutual connivance becomes thus almost necessary, and the word *Incumbent* too frequently loses its name; for I could give you instances of rectors, who have not, like a certain bishop, set foot on their rectories for six years together; and of another living, near me, on which there has been neither resident rector, nor resident curate, for above twelve years together. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!* I had several things more to have said; but my heart being full of sorrow, for these things, I could not let slip this first opportunity of letting you know how much I sympathize with you, and lament some of the causes of the decay of *Christian Piety*. We frequently remember you all with pleasure. And I desire you to believe that I am, with great sincerity,

(*Dear Chum,*)

Bishops Weremouth,
Sept. 15, 1730.

Your affectionate Friend,

J. L.

P. S. Bishop Burnet has wrote a book called the *Pastoral Care*, I would fain have somebody write the *Episcopal Care*.

In the year 1731, my great friend, Dr. Sydal, (who, with Mr. Pyle, sen. of *Lynn*, were the two best scholars that I ever examined for holy orders while I was chaplain to Dr. Moor, bishop of *Norwich*) was made bishop of *Gloucester*. The mention of him in this place is made, on account of a remarkable fact by him related to me, of Mr. *William Needham*, who had been chaplain to
archbishop

archbishop *Sancroft*, and was a member of that convocation, which fell upon me *A. D.* 1711, and whose conduct relating to me, is set down at large after my *Historical Preface*. Dr. *Sydal*, who was also a member of the same convocation, finding Mr. *Needham*, otherwise a good man, very bitter against me, said to him, “What you are doing “ against Mr. *Whiston* is like the proceedings in the “ inquisition.” Whereupon Mr. *Needham* made this memorable reply : “ That the inquisition, in- “ deed, may do now and then an hard thing : but, “ for the main, they keep things tight.” As indeed persecution did usually do so, till, in this age, the laity are grown so uneasy under it, that in protestant countries it cannot keep things *tight* any longer. Which, by the way, should teach the governors of the church to lay all attempts for it aside ; and to betake themselves to fair examination and correction of what is amiss immediately.

N. B. Since the old method of divine providence, used all along to preserve the history of the most important facts of ancient ages, by standing memorials of the same to after ages, as I have formerly proved. *Essay on the Apost. Const.* page 174—179. I propose it for a proper query to the inquisitive, whether, as the circumstances of the first or original sin of *Adam* and *Eve*, were preserved, in the *Pudor circa res Venereas* ; and as to *Eve*, by the difficulties of conception, gestation, and child-birth, in mothers ever since ; whether the same circumstances of that first sin might not also be preserved, as to *Adam*, by the circumcision of the males ? We find this circumcision in *Sanchoniatho*, before the flood : *Essay on the Old Testament*, Appendix, page 178. And we find it made the distinguishing mark of *Abraham* and his posterity, after it, to this very day. I affirm nothing here ;

here ; but think no other solution of this divine command so probable, and so agreeable to the ancient method of divine providence, as this is.

June 21st, 1749.

W. W.

In *February*, 1732, Mr. *John Baron* was made dean of *Norwich*. This very good, modest, and religious man, and excellent pastor of a country parish, *Ditchingham*, was, in *A. D.* 1698 and 1699, possessed of about 20*l.* a year of the tithes of *Kessingland*, a village but three miles off *Lowestoff*, and annexed to it. He had been educated under Mr. *Robinson*, one that taught young men who were bringing up to be dissenting teachers. But upon some doubts he had about going on in that way, and some letters that passed between us thereto relating, he left the dissenters, and came over to the church of *England*; and at length accepted of the deanry of *Norwich*, but refused the bishoprick when it was offered him. However, upon our first acquaintance he seemed uneasy at retaining those church-lands, which yet came to him by inheritance, and offered them to be settled on the church for eight years purchase, or 160*l.* which most kind offer tempted me to try my friends for the purchase of them: which was likely then to be for my own considerable advantage also. I remember that the bishop gave 5*l.* Dr. *Prideaux* 10*l.* the lord *Weymouth* 10*l.* &c. so that I at length made it up within 50*l.* which I advanced myself, or reckoned myself so much out of pocket. But still I got the money paid, and the title was vested in me; but so, that I always intended not to keep it in my own family, but in due time, when I had repaid myself,

self, to transfer my right to the vicarage for ever. Yet did there some unexpected circumstances intervene; for when I was admitted mathematical professor, *A. D.* 1703, which voided my living, yet did it not void my title to these tythes. Accordingly I kept them for some years, till, upon my banishment from the university, the revenues of my professorship were taken away from me; and most men would have thought that I might, in this case, keep this small remains for my family. However, I being always desirous to do what equity rather than law could oblige me to, I offered, when Dr. *Trimmel* was bishop, upon my being reimburs'd the 50*l.* which I reckoned was not cleared to me, to settle it absolutely upon the vicarage for ever, and trust myself and my family to the Divine Providence. Accordingly it has been between thirty and forty years settled upon that vicarage. Only I must do the present incumbent Mr. *Tanner* the justice to acknowledge, that he has now, for many years, of his own accord, sent me out of it five guineas every *Christmas*: for which I must own myself greatly obliged to him. Nor did dean *Baron* forget me at his death, but ordered his executors to make me a present of 20*l.* as did Mr. *Leigh*, an *Irish* gentleman, a most dear friend of mine, and an excellent christian, order me the like sum of *Irish* money by his will. Mr. *Brockman* also left me by will 10*l.* which, with a small farm of my own near *Newmarket*, the queen's bounty of 40*l.* clear, Sir *Joseph Jekyl's* annuity for life of 20*l.* a year clear, with eclipses, comets, lectures of several sorts in *London* and elsewhere, and some benefactions by persons now alive, and the greatest of all long ago by Mr. *John Bromley* of *Horsebeath, Cambridgeshire*, has made me up such a competency as has greatly contented

tented me, and made me to go on all a long comfortably in my studies.

In the year 1732, I wrote *A Paraphrase on the Book of Job*; with a preliminary dissertation and observations subjoined. To which I lately added a very small dissertation on the book of *Ecclesiastes*, to shew that it is a collection of *Solomon's* reflections, about points of the greatest consequence: the most of them when he was a religious man, in his first and last days: but several of them when he was irreligious and sceptical, during his amours and idolatry. This book is not yet printed.

In the same year, 1732, I published *A Vindication of the Testimony of Phlegon*: or, *An Account of the great Darknes and Earthquake at our Saviour's Passion*, described by *Phlegon*. Being an answer to Dr. Sykes's dissertation concerning that eclipse and earthquake, 8vo. Price 1 s.

In the year 1733, I published *A Map of Europe*, with the course of eight remarkable eclipses of the Sun, drawn upon it. An open sheet. Price 1 s.

In the same year 1733, I published *An Enquiry into the Evidence of Archbishop Cranmer's Recantation*: or, *Reasons for a Suspicion that the pretended large Copy of it is not genuine*, 8vo. Price 6d.

About the same year 1733, Dr. Secker was made bishop of *Oxford*, and rector of St. James's: this is the living where that great man Dr. Samuel Clarke had formerly been rector, and preached with great success and reputation, for many years. And pity, great pity it is, that so very worthy a person, and so indefatigable a pastor of that large parish, as Dr. Secker is, should appear so grossly unacquainted with primitive christianity, as distinct from the present settlement of the

church of *England*, whereby the great light afforded by Dr. *Clarke* might have been carried on nearer to perfection, and to the restoration of that most holy religion, not which *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox*, *Cranmer*, &c. &c. have left us, but which our blessed Saviour delivered to the apostles. Whereas I perceive bishop *Secker* ventures to excuse what he is himself ashamed to justify, even the monstrous *Athanasian* creed itself, with all its curses : and pretends it was permitted to stand in our protestant *Common-Prayer-Book*, to invite the papists to continue in our communion : while among the *Lutherans* it is only read once a year, upon *Trinity Sunday* : and while our first *English Common-Prayer-Book* appointed it only to be read on the six great festivals ; but since the *Church of England* has amended, or rather corrupted that first and best *Common-Prayer-Book*, it is appointed to be read upon seven other holidays, or thirteen times in all. Nor are the poor apologies, or, rather, excuses, that his lordship made for the foolish niceties of that creed, better than may at any time be made for the niceties of transubstantiation, and the other grossest errors of popery. 'Tis always, for certain, better to correct modern errors and mistakes by our original standards, than to apologize for, or excuse those errors and mistakes. Only I fear Dr. *Secker*, with the generality of his brethren, instead of desiring to know more of the genuine religion of our Saviour, as he left it, in its primitive purity, are suffering themselves to sink into almost as gross ignorance of christian antiquity, and of the two first centuries, as the popish bishops were sunk into before the protestant reformation ; particularly in the doctrine of *Athanasianism*. Tho' I dare venture to assure them, that let the laws go on as they please, and the practice of the poor oppressed clergy of our church be never so conformable,

formable; the light of primitive truth shines too bright in *Christendom* to be thereby any longer extinguished or eclipsed. The *Athanasian* heresy is even here so low, that the principal examiners give it up, and no person of note for learning has dared, these many years, to publish any thing in its vindication. Nor do I find any considerable party among us, but the weakest of all our present sects, the *Calvinists*, that shew any concern for it. As to *Germany*, enquiry goes on there so fast, that I believe it cannot hold long among the learned protestants of that country. For *Switzerland* and *Basil*, one of their most learned professors, Mr. *Wetstein*, who was several years ago prosecuted there for *Arianism*, and forced to retire to *Holland* on that account, was afterward, as it were, rechofen, upon better consideration; but is now a professor among the remonstrants in *Holland*. He was here very lately, and assured me himself, that among the remonstrants of that country, which are known to be their most learned body, he believes there is *not one Athanasian* remaining. For *Geneva*, at first the famous head of the *Calvinists* and *Trinitarians*, I have largely shewn elsewhere, that they have taken away the sixty-four articles of their *Consensus*, and allow no human authority to impose upon their pastors; but have brought all to the holy scriptures themselves. III. *Traacts*, page 13—22. And I well remember, that I, long ago, heard, from a very good hand, that when our famous Dr. *Outram* was writing his very learned book concerning *the Jewish Sacrifices*, he was asked, Why he chose to enter into the *Jewish* antiquities of the *Rabbins*, rather than into the christian antiquities of the first centuries? His answer was, What, would you have me be an *Arian*? He knowing that such primitive christian learning would endanger his *Athanasianism*, and tempt him to

embrace what the later ages have called *Arianism*. I am very sorry that I am forced to write so severely to bishop *Secker*, one of the best of our present bishops and pastors, and for whom I have the greatest esteem: but the miserable condition of the true primitive christian religion among us, forces me to be so plain with him, and by his means with his brethren, the rest of our present bishops also; who seem to be in a deep sleep and lethargy, out of which I aim to awaken them, by thus freely admonishing them to awake, tho' probably I may have small thanks for this my admonition.

In the next year, 1734, I published my *Reply to Dr. Sykes's Defence of his Dissertation concerning the Eclipse mentioned by Phlegon*, as the III. of my VI. Dissertations: containing,

I. The testimonies of *Josephus* concerning *Jesus Christ*, *John* the baptist, and *James* the just, vindicated.

II. The copy of the *Old Testament* made use of by *Josephus*, proved to be that which was collected by *Nehemiah*.

III. A *Reply to Dr. Sykes's Defence of his Dissertation on the Eclipse*, mentioned by *Phlegon*.

IV. The chronology of the sacred scriptures, and the truth of their predictions, confirmed by eclipses, and astronomical observations.

V. Remarks on Sir *Isaac Newton's* observations upon the prophecies of *Daniel* and the apocalypse.

VI. A demonstration that our Saviour's ministry continued, at least, four years. Occasioned by Mr. *Man's* dissertation on that subject, 8vo. Price 4s.

N. B. There was an annular eclipse of the sun, July 30, A. D. 455. before that interregnum which followed upon the deaths of *Aëtius* and *Valentinian* III. and *Avitus*; and soon after the sacking of *Rome* by *Genferick* the *Vandal*, in the same year. After all which, the dignity, power, and authority of the old *Roman* emperors were irreparably lost. Which was a most remarkable *breach*, and almost *dissolution* of that empire.

It might be about this year, 1734, also, that Dr. *Knight*, late archdeacon of *Berkshire*, lent me bishop *Patrick*'s account of his own life, written with his own hand, which I very well knew; and ending with his birth-day, when he was eighty years old. Which birth-day the bishop had long kept after a most religious manner. Why this life is not hitherto published, I do not know. He was in the old war-time a great royalist, and therefore under no temptation to deny, as he does here, that king *Charles* I. was the original author of the Επὼν Βασιλική, had he not been fully satisfied that it was not of his own writing; tho' I take it to be undeniable, that the king highly approved, and frequently corrected the copy with his own hand, till it truly express'd the sense of his own mind, and so was his true *Portraiture*, as the title signifies it to be. Another thing I remember there is in bishop *Patrick*'s account of himself, and of the great events that happened in his time, viz. "That just before the death
" of king *Charles* II. there was over-bearing evi-
" dence coming out, of the truth of *Oates*'s plot,
" and then the king died." What inference the bishop made from this coincidence, does not appear in this MS. But I suppose every body will easily supply it in their own mind. I read this MS. four times over: so I can be positive of the truth of these two things. When I after-

ward gave Sir *Joseph Jekyl* and Mr. *Arthur Onslow* an account of what I had seen, they were both hearty for having the copy intirely printed *in puris naturalibus*, which I told Dr. *Knight*. But he thought himself not at liberty to do more than take some extracts out of it, to be inserted elsewhere as he saw cause. So it is not yet published.

In the year 1735, that great and good friend of mine Mr. *Samuel Collet*, a baptist, who was so zealous to have primitive christianity examined into and restored, that he has assured me, he thinks he never once missed a meeting of our old *Society for promoting that primitive Christianity*, was very ill, and thought himself in danger of death, at *Newington-Green*. I went to see him, and at his desire, prayed with him, and for him, as became a christian clergyman to do. He also desired me to anoint him with oil, according to the injunction in St. *James* v. 14, 15, 16. *Is any sick among you, let him call for the presbyters of the church, and let them pray over him; anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him. Confess therefore your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed, the ἐνέργημα, the prayer for the Energumens, Constitut. VIII. §. 7. or the fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* Upon which desire of his, I hesitated, and told him I durst not venture to do that, till I had examined antiquity about it. As not then remembering that the *Apostolical Constitutions*, both in the ordination of a presbyter, book VIII. chap. 18. order the *Gift of Healing* to be desired for him, and the same *Constitutions*, book VIII. chap. 29. appoint a form for the consecration of oil, and in want of oil, of water, VII. 22. for the healing of the sick, and

and the casting out dæmons. Nor at that time well recollecting the cure of *Severus*, the emperor, by *Proculus Torpacio*, upon his anointing him with oil, as *Tertullian*, a contemporary historian, informs us. And had I been then apprized of this evidence, 'tis very probable I should have consecrated some oil, and anointed him. However, he fully supposes that God took the *Will for the Deed*, and accepted of the prayers we put up to him for his recovery: when there was nothing but involuntary ignorance on both sides: for he recovered, and he has ever since been in a better state of health than he had been long before. 'Tis true, that another baptist, and one of the most learned of the baptists, an old friend of mine also, Mr. *Morris*, in a sermon of his, has shewed himself a notable critick upon this text in St. *James*, in order to get clear of the obligation of this anointing; for many of the baptists do not allow of it: but since his criticisms are not thoroughly satisfactory, since we have the constant tradition and practice of this duty delivered in the several churches of the world, as far as the christians of St. *Thomas* in the *East-Indies*; nay, have it in the first and best *Common-Prayer-Book* of the church of *England*; and thence in my own *Common-Prayer-Book*, reduced nearer to the primitive standard. And since it appears this practice has had great and eminent success in healing the afflicted; which the following baptists, Mr. *Killingworth*, the two Mr. *Stangers*, Mr. *Copper*, and Mr. *Goode*, all of my own acquaintance, do fully attest; these seem to me to give a divine approbation to it, so that any criticisms notwithstanding, I am clear that it is a certain law of the gospel, and ought to be put in practice by all churches accordingly: tho' the particular subjects of this unction, and the circumstances in which it ought to be done, will still deserve our farther
very

very serious enquiry. Only *Grotius* observes, that the eastern churches appointed seven presbyters to join in it. *In loc. Jacobi*. But more of this matter hereafter.

About the year 1736, the *Jews* in *Duke's-Place*, by *Aldgate*, had a most dreadful fire, which consumed no small part of their dwellings in that place, and many of the poorer sort were thereupon under a very sore degree of distress. When the news-writers informed the publick of this terrible calamity, a christian gentleman of a plentiful estate of my acquaintance, and a great student in the scriptures, without any application, to shew his universal charity and kindness to all in distress, of what denomination soever, sent me a letter, with a note of 110 *l.* inclosed, to be received by me, and to permit me to apply the 10 *l.* to myself, and desired me to pay the 100 *l.* to the *Jews*, towards their relief, and send him the *Jews* receipt for that sum; but under a strict charge not to have himself named in the whole transaction. Which directions I executed accordingly. And altho' no-body but myself knew, nor does yet, I suppose, know his name, yet does that Omniscient Being, who *is good to all*, and *whose tender mercies are over all his works*, know it, and will not let him go without his reward at the great day. This I thought proper to mention, for the honour of christianity, and of so good a christian, as well as for the example of others.

About the same year 1736, and before queen *Caroline* died, Mr. *Fortin*, a great and learned friend of mine, and from whom I afterward received a remedy of Sir *Edward Hulse's* for a great disorder I was then in, which, by God's blessing, saved my life, told me, that the late duke of *Somerset*, a great *Athanasian*, once forbad his chaplain to read the *Athanasian* creed, (which I imagined was occasioned

occasioned by a suggestion from the queen; to whom I had complained, that altho' she was queen, that creed was not yet laid aside :) whereupon Mr. *Jortin* left off the same creed for some time. Mr. *Jortin* has also lately published a very good book for the christian religion: which I suppose he believes, as do the rest of his brethren, but *hardly in earnest*, so as to suffer any thing for it. Which believing *in earnest*, it is next to impossible for one of his abilities to do, while he has not publicly repented of his having so often formerly cursed the *Eusebians*, or primitive christians. In which case I believe the primitive church, even after the repentance of the offending clergy, would have only admitted them to lay-communion.

In the year 1736, I published *Athanasian Forgeries, Impositions, and Interpolations*, under the title of, *A Lover of Truth, and of true Religion*, 8vo. But I confess I was myself the author of that pamphlet, as well as of its *Appendix*; being *An Appeal to thirty primitive Councils against the Athanasian Heresy*: Of which presently, 8vo. Price 1s. 6d.

The same year, 1736, I published, *The Primitive Eucharist Revived: or, An Account of the two first Centuries concerning the Celebration of the Lord's Supper*; occasioned by a late Treatise of Bishop Hoadley's, intituled, *A plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, 8vo. Price 1s. 6d.

N. B. The *Appendix* to my *New Theory*, tho' written 1718, was not printed and added to the *New Theory* itself, till its fifth edition, this year, 1736.

I published the next year 1737, *The Astronomical Year: or, An Account of the many remarkable celestial Phenomena of the great Year 1736*.
Parti-

Particularly of the comet which was foretold by Sir *Isaac Newton*, and came accordingly. 8vo. Price 6d.

On this year also, 1736, the late archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Potter*, was removed from *Oxford* to *Lambeth*. I have some reason to speak my mind freely of him, and of the most unhappy change this great exaltation made in him, because the late queen, when consultation was had who should be made archbishop, asked me about his character, and the book he had written against the *Erasians*, or for the ecclesiastical authority, as distinct from the state. For his character at that time was with me as one of great *Piety*, *Learning*, and *Moderation*; and an excellent pastor of a parish, as I heard afterward, without any marks of pride or vanity; whom I accordingly recommended to her majesty, as one proper to be archbishop; which I then sincerely wished he might be. As to his book, I said it was a very good one; and that he proved his points very well; only that he had taken one thing for granted at last, which he could not prove; namely, “That *Constantine the Great* did well in giving “temporal power to the clergy.” I then little dreamed that this Dr. *Potter*, by going to *Lambeth*, would take high and pontifical state upon him; that he could bear the kneeling of even bishops before him, when, at a solemn meeting of the members of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, he gave the blessing, which I myself saw: that he would procure half a dozen footmen to walk bare-headed by him, when he was in his coach, three of a side; besides his train-bearer, at such his appearances; that he would give up the poor remains of christian discipline, as his predecessor had done, and sometimes ordain such ignoramus’s as the great bishop *Lloyd*, of whom I know

know he had the greatest opinion, would, upon examination, have hardly thought worthy any holy orders at all; that he would not only bear the grossest flattery to his face, in Dr. *Pierce's Con- cilio ad Clerum*, but declare his approbation of it, by advancing or confirming the advancement of the preacher, to a place of great dignity immediately; and that in consequence of his pomp, while alive, his executors caused him to lie in state when he was dead: that he would set his learned chaplain, Dr. *Chapman*, to preach against the christians, falsely called *Arians*, at the lady *Moyer's* lecture; that he would send abroad such mean forms of prayer and praise, upon days of humiliation and thanksgiving, to flatter the court; such indeed as are sometimes hardly true, and frequently such as are wholly inconsistent with that profound veneration, that kings and princes themselves, as well as their subjects, owe to their Almighty Creator; from whom is derived all the wisdom and courage, and victory of their greatest generals. To say nothing of that horrid cursing of the christians in the *Athanasian* creed, which he still supported in his own chapel at *Lambeth*,* and every where else. And I am sorry, very sorry, to say it, that archbishop *Potter* seemed to me almost as unwilling to open his eyes, to see the grievous errors of *Athanasianism*, which are now so fully detected, as to be sinking out of the learned world, as any of the papists were to see the other gross errors of popery, at the protestant reformation.

N. B. I will add one observation here of the inactivity or ignorance of the generality of those that have of late been preferred by the court to be bishops and deans; nay, or by the bishops themselves to be archdeacons also, that they know one clergyman, of no preferment at all, that hath
written

written more books of learning, and most of them for the propagation of truth, and the true christian religion, and for the confutation of scepticks and infidels, than all of them, above an hundred in number, put together, have done. To so little advantage does the present disposal of preferments turn; and so little benefit does either church or state receive from the possessors of them. I here except archbishop *Potter's* learned edition of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, tho' it was published before he was made either bishop or archbishop. As also I might except the late bishop of *London's* *Codex*, two large volumes, published after he was bishop. But those are so far from doing any service to christianity, that they are rather the sad remains of antichristianism and popery among us. I conclude this my address to archbishop *Potter*, and our other bishops, with a very remarkable passage, which I have lately met with in a sermon preached at a lord archbishop's triennial and ordinary visitation; I suppose in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, upon *Eccles. xii. 10. The preacher did seek out pleasant words.* The account is in these words: "There is a story how a
 " learned friar in *Italy*, famous for his learning
 " and preaching, was commanded to preach before
 " the pope at a year of jubilee: and to be the
 " better furnished, he repaired thither a good
 " while before to *Rome*, to see the fashion of the
 " conclave, to accommodate his sermon the better. When the day came he was to preach,
 " having ended his prayer, he looking a long
 " time about, at last he cried with a loud voice
 " three times, *St. Peter was a fool, St. Peter*
 " *was a fool, St. Peter was a fool.* Which words
 " ended, he came out of the pulpit. Being after
 " convened before the pope, and asked, why he
 " so carried himself; he answered, surely, holy
 " father,

“ father, if a priest may go to heaven abounding
 “ in wealth, honour, and preferment, and live at
 “ ease, never or seldom to preach, then surely
 “ *St. Peter was a fool*, who took such a hard
 “ way in travelling, in fasting, in preaching, to
 “ go thither.”

I cannot therefore but, with great grief, look on the lord chancellor *King*, archbishop *Wake*, and archbishop *Potter*, as three excellent men utterly ruined by their preferments at court, and proper to teach all other good men this old lesson, *Exeat aula, qui volet esse pius*.

In the same year, 1737, I published, *The genuine Works of Flavius Josephus, the Jewish Historian*, in *English*. Translated from the original *Greek*, according to *Havercamp's* accurate edition. Containing XX books of *Jewish* antiquities; with the *Appendix*, or *Life of Josephus*, written by himself. VII books of the *Jewish War*, and II books against *Apion*. Illustrated with new plans, and descriptions of *Solomon's*, *Zorobabel's*, *Herod's*, and *Ezekiel's* temples; and with correct maps of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*. Together with proper notes, observations, contents, parallel texts of scripture, five compleat indexes, and the true chronology of the several histories adjusted in the margin. To which are prefixed VIII dissertations, *viz.*

I. The testimonies of *Josephus* vindicated.

II. The copy of the *Old Testament* made use of by *Josephus*, proved to be that which was collected by *Nehemiah*.

III. Concerning God's command to *Abraham*, to offer up his son *Isaac* for a sacrifice.

IV. A large enquiry into the true chronology of *Josephus*.

V. An

V. An extract out of *Josephus's* exhortation to the *Greeks*, concerning *Hades*, and the resurrection of the dead.

VI. Proofs that this exhortation is genuine.

VII. A demonstration that *Tacitus* the *Roman* historian, took his history of the *Jews* out of *Josephus*.

VIII. A dissertation of *Cellarius's* against *Harduin*, in vindication of *Josephus's* history of the family of *Herod*, from coins :

With an account of the *Jewish* coins, weights, and measures, folio.

In the same year, 1737, I published *An Account of the Dæmoniacks, and of the Power of casting out Dæmons, both in the New Testament, and in the four first Centuries* ; occasioned by a late pamphlet of Dr. *Sykes's*, intituled, *An Enquiry into the Meaning of Dæmoniacks in the New Testament*. To which is added an *Appendix*, concerning the *Tythes and Oblations* paid by the *Christians*, during the same four centuries, 8vo. Price 1s. 6d.

The End of the FIRST PART.



MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

Mr. *WILLIAM WHISTON*.

PART II.



IN the year 1738 I sent the following letter to Mr. *John Depee*, at *Norwich*. He was a stranger to me, but one that was to communicate the letter to some worthy *Unitarians* at *Norwich*, who had desired my opinion and advice in some points of great consequence.

U

April

April 20, 1738.

For Mr. John Depee, near Coslany Bridge,
Norwich.

S I R,

I Received yours of the 8th instant, by the person you intrusted it with; and by Mr. *Killingworth*, an eminent Baptist, and a very good writer, on their side, and return you this short answer to your queries.

(1.) That the word *God*, when it is made the subject of a proposition, means always the most High God, which you say Dr. *Clarke* and others grant, I do not know. That it usually does so is very plain, and confessed by all. However, the text your *Athanasian* has pitched upon, 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. is unluckily chosen for a *Determination* of such a controversy; since it is so very doubtful whether the true old reading had the word *God* or not. I have now by me a dissertation of Sir *Isaac Newton's*, to disprove that reading. And upon its perusal, I cannot say, whether the word written by St. *Paul*, were Θεός, or Λόγος, or Χριστός, or ὁ: which last all the *Latin* copies suppose, and implies the context to have been, *Great is the mystery of godliness, which was manifested in the flesh, &c.* Thus do the *Athanasians* take it also for granted, that our Saviour is called, *Rom.* ix. 5. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός or, *The God over all*, against the constant language of Christians in the two first centuries, which appropriated that character to the Father. Accordingly it appears by no small evidence, that the word Θεός was inserted by the *Montanists*; and from them derived to their offspring the *Athanasians*. See *Athanasian forgeries*, p. 6---12.

As

As to your hypothesis-maker's famous discovery of a superangelical Spirit *united* to the *Δόγος*, whether taken from Dr. *Knight*, or Dr. *Bennet*, it deserves no answer, till we have some proof, that it was the doctrine of the Apostolical Age; to which I am fully satisfied it was an intire stranger. The notion then being constant, that the *Δόγος* himself was no other than such a superangelical spirit, begotten or created by the Father before the world began. These hypothesis-makers are the great corrupters of true religion. For myself, I dare make none in such a case. But having most frequently and carefully perused all the books of the New Testament, received from the Church of *Rome*, and standing in our common Bible, and all the rest unjustly rejected by the *Athanasians*, and by that Church, and even by us from them, and commonly stiled Apostolical Fathers only; I attest to the world what doctrines, worship, and discipline I find therein contained; and this without any imaginary suppositions whatsoever. See *Athanasian* forgeries, pag. 105---110.

(2.) Nor do I much deal in supporting by *reason* what I find in the same sacred books, I now mean those of the Old, as well as New Testament, as understood in the very next ages also, *viz.* That the Divine Person that so often appeared to the Patriarchs was not the most High God, but the *Δόγος*, having the *Name of God in him*; Ex. xxiii. 21. and the name *Jehovah* communicated to him; and speaking and acting always in the name of the Most High God, and by his authority, as his minister, and vicegerent among mankind. This is almost the constant voice of Christian antiquity; *Philo* the *Jew* is also full of it; and *Josephus* had the same notion, as also I suppose, had all the Prophets. But whether the vulgar carnal *Jews* did

not imagine that Divine Being, which so often appeared to their fore-fathers to have been the Most High God himself, I cannot certainly tell ; however I have treated so fully of this in my IVth volume, article XIII. that I shall add no more in this place.

(3.) As to my great friend Mr. *Emlyn's Previous Question* about Baptism, it was written [long ago, before I was acquainted with him, or had discovered the mistake about infant baptism, and that upon the principles of Doctor *Wall's* history of infant baptism, or] with acuteness *ad hominem*, as we say, but seems to me destitute of all real foundation. The authority of the Talmud, and the modern Rabbins no way deserving any regard, when they not only are unsupported but contradicted by all other genuine evidence. Nor do I believe any such baptism of proselytes, till *John* the Baptist. I have sent you my old paper of baptism, which includes the testimonies of two centuries relating to that matter, wherein, page 25, you have this apostolical injunction, let no one eat of the *Eucharist* that is not initiated ; but those only who have been baptized unto the death of the Lord ; and in page 34. the express testimony of *Justin Martyr*, one that might be ten years old when St. *John* died, it is not lawful for any to partake of the Eucharist, but such as believe the things we teach, and have received that washing which is for the remission of their sins, and regeneration ; so that you must then confine the Eucharist to proselytes also. By *infants and little children* the constitutions and other ancient writings mean only such with relation to baptism as were catechised before baptism, as their whole current implies ; and as the paper about infant baptism will abundantly prove ; the discovery of which secret
made

made me a Baptist twenty-six years ago. I have sent you also my old paper of the ancient creeds, which I call the *Magna Charta* of Christianity; in opposition to which evidence for the ancient faith of Christians, I take the pretended occasional criticisms, and little hypotheses of the *Athenasians* to be mere trifles. I heartily wish Mr. Scot the younger all happiness and success in his intentions to restore Primitive Christianity, but hope he would avoid, as much as possible, the introducing of any controversies into the pulpit, which ought generally to be sacred to the fundamental doctrines, and practical duties of the Gospel.

I am, SIR, your hearty well wisher,

and humble servant,

Will. Whiston.

IN the same year, 1738, I publish'd *The Longitude discovered by the Eclipses, Occultations, and Conjunctions of Jupiter's Planets.* To which was added the *Configurations* of those Planets for the latter Half of that year. But I afterwards added, in its Stead, A Table of the Eclipses, Occultations, and Conjunctions of such of those Planets as might be useful in the discovery of the Longitude for the years 1739, 1740, 1741, and 1742. With a large Historical Preface, reaching till the year 1745, 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.

N. B. I procured a copy of those tables by which these eclipses were calculated for that skilful Author of our annual *Ephemerides*, the late Mr. *Weaver*. Whence he has every year since given us their calculations to the great advantage of Astronomers and Observers.

Since I have so long and so kindly been treated at *Finchley*, by the now very old Man Mr. *Henry Whichcote*, and particularly by his Son, Mr. *Paul Whichcote*, so as to make it, when I please, my place of rest and retirement, and where I take always the freedom to communicate and debate any of my notions and discoveries before they are published: And since I was in these years, 1738 and 1739, intrusted with the recommendation of a good number of poor Clergymen, to a charity left by one of that family, I cannot but add a small account of it in this place. Dr. *Whichcote* was the most noted person in it, who in *Oliver's* days was provost of *King's College, Cambridge*, and one whom Bishop *Burnet*, in the History of his Own Times, justly recounts among the best of the clergy and preachers in the next reign; whose sermons were admired and published by Archdeacon *Jefferies*: he was brother to the father of the family, of which family I am going to speak. Sir *Paul Whichcote of Quoi*, by *Cambridge*, was the eldest Brother; whom I knew: and who had a small but elegant chapel for his family prayers, which were twice in a day there attended: Which his son Sir *Francis Whichcote*, in *Lincolnshire*, with whom I am also acquainted, imitates. Sir *Paul* died at about 79 years of age. The next brother of the family died about 83. The next was a sister, the Lady *Pemberton*, who lived till about 87. The next also lived till about 87. Who be-
side

sider the large provision he made for his relation, my friend, Mr. *Paul Whichcote*, left 1200 *l.* among 30 clergymen of good reputation, who had not of their own, or in Church-preferment, so much as 30 *l.* a year, *i. e.* 40 *l.* a-piece. Mr. *Paul Whichcote*, who was the person that took the care of this benefaction, desired my Assistance in finding out fit objects, and took near half of my nomination : and by his and my own great care, such objects were found out, and had each their 40 *l.* undiminished, as, upon after enquiries, not one have appeared to be unworthy of it. Which is a case so uncommon, that it well deserves to be remembered and imitated by others on the like occasion. The last of the brothers, Mr. *Henry*, a worthy and religious man, is now in the 96th year of his age, and, abating his deafness and blindness, is strong and hearty at this day.

In May 1739, after the Death of Mr. *Sanderson*, my successor in the Mathematic Professorship at *Cambridge*, I wrote, and sent the following Letter to Dr. *Ashton*, master of *Jesus College* ; the only surviving head of a college that signed my banishment from the University ; tho' by all that I could learn, he did not so much as shew it to any other of the Heads, till after they had chosen Mr. *Colson* for another of my successors. An hardship this plainly indefensible and unaccountable !

London, May 10, 1739.

Much honoured Sir,

IT having pleased God to prolong my life and health till after the death of my successor, Mr. *Sanderson* ; and you, Sir, being the only Head of a College now alive, whose name is to

my banishment from the University; an hardship, indeed, that I could not but sorely regret, from so good a scholar, and so good a man as yourself; I think I may now venture to put in my claim to the same Professorship again: the right to which was never any further taken from me than in consequence of that banishment. I then, by the best advice, made a Deputy; as, by Mr. *Lucas's* Statutes, I was impowered to do, Mr. *Christopher Hussey* of *Trinity* College; who was ready to perform his duty, had not the heat of that time prevented him. You know, Sir, very well, that I was not banished for any immorality, or neglect of my duty as Professor, nor by Mr. *Lucas's* Statutes; but barely for (1) my affirming, with our Saviour, *St. Paul*, the *Nicene*, and all the original Creeds, and most ancient Fathers, that *the one only God of the Christians is God the Father*. (2) My asserting an undoubted matter of fact, that the original Christian Doxology was not the common one, but *Glory be to the Father, through the Son*, or, and *the Son, in the Holy Ghost*. (3) My *proposing* to prove that the *Constitutions and Doctrine of the Apostles*, are sacred Books of the New Testament; and the former of them, *the most sacred of the Canonical Books*. As the authentic accounts of that transaction, long ago by me made public, do clearly prove. Certainly, Sir, the loss of about twenty seven years salary of my Professorship, with the other consequent difficulties, put upon me during all those years, is more than a sufficient punishment for those offences of mine, if such they were: and that it is high time for you, Sir, in particular, to move the other Heads of the University to consider of the equity, if not of the justice of my case; and to restore me to my membership

bership again: the consequence of which will be this, that I be either re-admitted or re-elected into my former Professorship. Which when done, I do hereby promise the University either to come and reside, and do the duty of my place myself, if it may be done without the dissatisfaction of that body; or else I will, according to the power given in the statutes, make a good and sufficient deputy to supply my place, and do it for me. Sure, Sir, this proposal cannot be esteemed other than very reasonable by any; much less by yourself, whose former banishment of me should make you more ready to procure me some redress for all those unhappy troubles that succeeded it. My differences in opinions from yourself or others, no way relating to the Professorship of the Mathematics, cannot certainly merit the continuance of my punishment any longer; which therefore I hope you will endeavour to prevent: and if you do so endeavour to prevent it, I have little reason to doubt but you will succeed in it. So far at least I insist on your fairness to me, that you communicate this letter to the Vice-chancellor, and the rest of the Heads of Colleges, as soon as may be, before they are engaged for any other, that they may not be unapprised of my claim, my desires and promises in the present case. It not being my intention to write to any other of them in particular, but to yourself only; to whom I heartily wish all happiness, as well as to the whole University, of which I was many years formerly, and desire once more to be admitted a member: And, I am,

*S I R, Your very affectionate Brother,
and humble Servant,*

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. This

N. B. This Dr. *Ashton* published himself many years ago, an excellent edition of *Origen*, Περὶ Ευχῆς. After which I asked Dr. *Bentley*, then Master of *Trinity* College, and *Regius* Professor of Divinity, why they did not banish Dr. *Ashton*, as they had done me for *Arianism*? since he had publish'd the grossest *Arian* book extant in all antiquity; as this treatise of *Origen's* is known to be. He replied; but the Notes are Orthodox. To which I answered, will orthodox Notes make an *Arian* book other than *Arian*?

In the same year 1739 I published *A Collection of Original Texts and Testimonies of Antiquity that relate to Christian Discipline*, with Notes. As also An Humble and Serious Address to the Clergy, for the Restoration of the same *Discipline*, 8vo. Price 1s. 6d.

N. B. Since the publication of this pamphlet, I have met with light as to both those practices, which I doubted of when I first wrote it, pag. 44. I mean the *anointing the sick with oil*, which I have very lately satisfied myself to be certainly a Christian duty at this day; as has already appeared; and the use of incense at the Eucharist; which I have found not to be so.

In the year 1740 was publish'd at *Utrecht*, by that prodigy of a young man, Mr. *Philip Barattier*, *A Chronological Enquiry about the most ancient Bishops of Rome, from Peter to Victor*; with four other dissertations about the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and *Ignatius's Epistles*, &c. Of which I gave an account in my three Tracts, p. 43—89. Out of which I got far more light, as I there profess, in several points relating to the original state of Christianity, than from all the other writings that have been publish'd, since I first publish'd my own
Works

Works thereto relating, *p.* 45. where also I have ordered this addition to be made in any future edition of those tracts: that “ till Mr. *Baratier* “ wrote upon these Constitutions, and *Ignatius’s* “ larger Epistles, like a real scholar, and one “ well versed in Christian antiquity, these precious remains of the Apostolical Age were hardly looked into with the least degree of judgment and impartiality by any of the learned; “ even since I published them, and wrote so fully “ and largely in their vindication. The learned “ Mr. *le Clerk* wrote against the Constitutions so “ poorly, in the preface to his edition of *Cotelarius*, that I had not patience to confute him. “ and for the learned Dr. *Whitby*, he was so secure of their being spurious at random, that he “ seemed to think them unworthy of any scholar’s “ consideration. He only saying, as I have “ heard as to my believing them genuine, *that this was for a Madman to do, or rather for one worse than a madman. Non sani esse hominis, non sanus juret Orestes.* To such a degree of “ contempt have the original laws of Christ “ therein contained been reduced among the most “ learned modern Christians!

In the next year, 1740, I published a Treatise, entitled, *The Eternity of Hell Torments considered: or, a Collection of Texts of Scripture, and Testimonies of the Three First Centuries relating to them. With Notes and Observations, 8vo. Price 2 s.*

In the following year, 1741, I publish’d *An Appeal to xxx primitive Councils against the Athanasian Heresy. A single sheet, as an Appendix to the Athanasian Forgeries* already mentioned. 8vo. Price 3d. Which together prevent all possible Pretences for the Vindication of *Athanasianism* hereafter by Learned Men.

N. B. Upon

N. B. Upon occasion of these perfectly unanswerable papers, it may not be amiss to take notice of a thin quarto book, printed in *Germany*; which contains a collection of the Theses of many young men, who were candidates for degrees there, to confute my doctrines; and without opposing which doctrines, I suppose they could not obtain those degrees: and to observe what poor replies they were sometimes able to make to my strongest arguments, so that when I read some of them, I could hardly forbear smiling at them; nor can I suppose they were all unapprized of that their strength. Whence we may easily learn how very weak arguments, joined to great prejudices and great interests in this world, can overbear the strongest arguments.

N. B. To confirm this last reflection, give me leave to produce Mr. *Godfrey Washington* of *Peterhouse*, in *Cambridge*, as an example, perfectly unparallel'd in this way: this Mr. *Washington* was an exceeding good and religious man, and one of the best pastors of a parish in *Cambridge*; a thorough *Athanasian*, but by no means acquainted with Christian antiquity; tho' he was my particular friend, and took the principal care of the charity-schools when I was banished; which burden till that time had chiefly been laid upon me. Mr. *Washington* was so terribly affrighted at the information he had received, that I had produced a very great number of primitive testimonies against the *Athanasians*: I said he had received information of this, for I never heard that he durst read any of them himself, that I was told he said, "That if there were in antiquity *one* testimony
" in *forty* for the doctrine of the church, he
" would continue an *Athanasian* still." A very moderate proportion this, to be contented withall! and yet in some of the principal points hardly to be
made

made out. The same Mr. *Washington* being one of those members of the University of *Cambridge* that had 30 *l.* a year given them by the Bishop of *London*'s project for preaching at Court, in order to induce the University to favour the Court, chose once to preach there against the *Arians*, from *Mark* xiii. 32. *Of that day and hour knoweth no one, no not the angels that are in Heaven, neither the Son but the Father*; which with its parallel, as read in the original copies. *Mat.* xxiv. 36. *Neither the Son, but the Father only*, are the strongest texts against the *Athanasians*, in the whole New Testament: he esteeming his cause gain'd, if he could vindicate the hardest text of all on the other side. His vindication consisted in this, that *Christ* was not bound to tell the whole truth in this Matter; and tho' he did really *know the day and hour* of the future judgment, yet he might deny that he knew it. He illustrated the point by this parallel case: suppose said he, you should go to the first minister (*Sir Robert Walpole*) and ask him to tell you some secret of state policy, do you think he would tell it you truly? by no means: so that our zealous *Athanasian*, rather than give up his opinion, would suppose our blessed Saviour to be more sly and knavish than a prevaricating Minister of State; while he could put the enquirer off with a shuffling answer, without telling a direct untruth: but our Saviour is supposed to tell a direct untruth in the case before us. This account would be almost incredible, but that I was told it immediately by one of the auditors, Mr. *Whately*, who was almost in an agony at what he had heard; and did not know who was the preacher, till by his description of white hair and other circumstances, I easily discover'd it to be no other than my old friend Mr. *Washington*. But to proceed;

In *August* this year, 1741, died my great and good friend Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*; who had been a much earlier and a much greater sufferer and confessor for Old Christianity than Dr. *Clarke*, or myself, or any other Unitarian that I knew of. My thoughts of whose character I shall desire my readers to take, from part of my letter to his son, *Sollom Emlyn*, Esq; Barrister at Law, my very worthy Christian friend (who has so faithfully written his father's own life, and his father's account of Dr. *Clarke*, that I can myself attest to much the greatest part of both their contents). This letter was written immediately after I heard of his death, in the words following.

Lyndon, August 15th, 1741.

Dear Sir,

I Did not receive your melancholy letter, till the same day that the public news informed us of the death of your father, tho' son *John* had given us notice of it before. I sincerely condole with yourself, Mrs. *Emlyn*, and his other relations and friends upon the loss of one whom we all greatly and justly loved, on account of his perfect integrity, strong judgment, great courage, and most Christian temper; which were especially shewn in making a *good confession* of some of the most important truths of our holy religion; and that not only of late, when that confession is (God be praised) not of such ill reputation, or so dangerous, but when it was under the greatest odium, and exposed men to terrible penalties. Accordingly, I look upon his losses and sufferings in *Ireland* as next to martyrdom; for which he was well prepared; and I esteem him as the first and principal confessor with us, for those articles of Primitive Christianity; nor are what Dr. *Clarke*,
or

or Mr. *Jackson*, or myself, or Mr. *Tomkins*, or Mr. *Gibbs*, &c. have lost on the like account to be compared to them. Had I been in *London*, I should very readily have afforded him all the assistance I was able; tho' perhaps that fever which carried him off might not thoroughly permit him to join in such devotions, as otherwise he was highly disposed for, and desirous of in the last period of his holy life. However, 'tis now several years, that he has waited 'till the day of his appointed time, when his great change should come; and after such an incurable infirmity as he has long had, you should no way be surprized at his death, since at 78 he is come to his full age, *like as a shock of corn cometh in his season*. Since his habitual preparation and uncommon degree of piety was all along so remarkable, there is no doubt but he is now where all good men desire to be, in that *land of the pious, in Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, whence all sorrow, grief and lamentation, are banished: to be at last among those souls of the righteous which are in the Hand of God, where no torment can touch them*. Nor ought we to sorrow for any good Christian, as *others which have no hope* in their death, much less for so eminent and religious a Christian as your father was, nor indeed did the ancient religious patriarchs seem to have been so unwilling to die, as good Christians are in our latter ages. And as for the martyrs, they were carried to their graves, when they were permitted to have any, with hymns of praise for their having escaped the *miseries of this sinful world*; and the day of their martyrdoms were called the *day of their nativity*, and celebrated yearly with great joy, &c.

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Will. Whiston.

In

In the year 1742, I published III. Tracts, containing

I. A Letter to the then Archbishop of *Canterbury*; with two Accounts of the laying aside Unscriptural Articles at *Geneva*, 1706. And the King of *Prussia's* Letter to the Clergy at *Geneva*; in commendation of those Proceedings.

II. An Abstract of the Minutes of our society, for promoting Primitive Christianity.

III. An Account of Mr. *Baratier's* Enquiries into the Chronology, the Doctrines, and Discipline of the Primitive Church. 8vo. Price 1 s. 6 d.

N. B. What is now at the end of page 53, of these Tracts, in all 54 and 55, and almost all the 56th, is so much better stated in my *Sacred History of the New Testament*, page 87, 88, 597, 608, that I desire those pages may be quite omitted in future Editions.

About the year 1744 Dr. *Webster* published and sent me a small paper, for the Payment of Tythes to the Clergy, and that as of such indefeasible right, that the Messiah himself could hardly alter it; and at the end, hinted that this his writing was, in a manner, put upon him by inspiration. Whereas the fact is plain, and proved in my account of tythes before mentioned; that those tythes were indeed to be paid originally into the Bishop's hands, but not to support either himself or his Presbyters or Deacons, but to be distributed to the widows, the orphans, the poor, and strangers in distress; and besides to the orders inferior to deacons, who most probably were of the poorer sort also; while the first fruits and voluntary oblations were allotted to the maintenance of the Superior Clergy, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. See the forementioned paper, page 77, 78. But when Dr. *Webster* intimates

timates a divine impulse for a Clergyman to write in vindication of Tythes to be paid Clergymen, contrary to the original law of Christianity; *Credat Judas Apella, non ego. Christ* has indeed ordained that *those that preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel*; which gives the Clergy a right to a maintenance: But that the maintenance should be by the Application of the Tythes thereto, is no where ordained: However, Clergymen should always get Laymen to write for their maintenance, but never should do it themselves.

In the year 1744 I published a *single Sheet* about our *Saviour's Resurrection*, from *Beza's* double Copy of the IV Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles; with some Observations, shewing that almost all the difficulties which have long puzzled the most learned Commentators in our vulgar Copies are here cleared, by this much more anti-ent and much more authentic Copy, 8vo. price 3d. It is added also a little corrected at the end of my Primitive New Testament.

In the year 1745-6 I published Bishop *Sherlock's* most excellent Sermon, preached at *Salisbury*, *October* 6th, 1745, when he was in dread of Popery and Persecution; which makes men much better Christians than times of Prosperity. Concerning whom I shall add a few things. When his Lordship made a Speech *for Bribery and Corruption*, in the House of Lords, for it was esteem'd no better at that time, I took such a prejudice against him, that I did not go to dine with him for a great while, as I used sometimes to do before. This I told Mr. *Venn*, who was acquainted with us both; and this was so well understood by the Bishop, that he told Mr. *Venn* himself, that he believed somewhat was the matter between us: Mr. *Venn* knew what it was, but durst not tell it. At last, when I was once at the

Master of the Rolls, Sir *Joseph Jekyl's*, the Bishop came upon us on the sudden, and ask'd me, what the matter was that I did not come as usual to dine with him sometimes? I said, no my Lord, never since your political Speech in the House of Lords. He reply'd, that I knew he took my reproofs patiently, and he was desirous I would come to him as formerly. I answered, No my Lord, political Bishops are the ruin of all [Religion:] and so I went away in some indignation. Moreover, I well remember, that when I had presented to his Lordship the second Edition of my *Essay on the Revelation of St. John*, and he had found I had introduced a Brother Politician of his, the Author of the *Codex*, as one that was aiming at a new kind of Persecution, which I call the *Codex Persecution*; he knew not how to bear my new exposition. I acknowledged it to be a new one, but justified what I had so lately discovered; and I venture to affirm still, that I take that my late discovery and exposition of those matters to be both very true and very considerable also. I also well remember, that I once enquired of his Lordship, "How the Church of *England* could pretend to be so pure and primitive, as she has long boasted herself to be, while she still retains the Book of *Canticles* in her Bible, and the *Athanasian Creed* in her Common Prayer Book?" To which he made me no answer. And I really believe no good answer can possibly be made to either of those questions. I farther wish, very heartily wish, that this Bishop *Sherlock*, who is so well able to speak both in Parliament and Convocation, would be the first to propose the exclusion of that Book and that Creed. If he would do it, I verily hope several good men would second him, and not one sober man would oppose him, in either of those places; and he might

might thereby begin that public Reformation, without which not only revealed, but even natural Religion are soon likely to be banished out of these Kingdoms. And when they are once banished, where I pray will be the Church of *England*?

In the year 1745 I published my *Primitive New Testament in English*, in IV Parts. Part I. Containing the IV Gospels of *Matthew*, *John*, *Luke*, and *Mark*; with the *Acts* of the Apostles; according to the *Greek* Part of the Manuscript of *Beza*, now probably above 1600 years old, in the public Library of the University of *Cambridge*, collated by *Patrick Young*, Abp. *Usher*; and at least twice by Dr. *Mills*, besides a still later collation. The imperfections of this Copy are here supplied from the vulgar Latin.

Part II. Containing the XIV Epistles of *Paul*.

According to the *Greek* of the *Clermont* manuscript, now probably between 1400 and 1500 years old, in the King of *France*'s Library at *Paris*: According to the collation in Dr. *Mills*'s New Testament; the *Latin* of which copy is part of the old *Italick* version, made early in the second Century.

Part III. Containing VII Catholic Epistles.

Part IV. The Revelation of *John*.

All according to the *Greek Alexandrian* manuscript, now about 1400 years old, according to Dr. *Mills*'s collation.

N. B. The observations belonging to this and the other Books of the New Testament are all to be found in my *Sacred History of the New Testament*, in their proper places.

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vide page 386 vol 2
of a

N. B. I was at *Christ's Church* in this year, 1746, as usual, on *Midsummer-Day*, when near 5000 poor Charity Children appeared in their new Cloaths, and had a very good Sermon preached before them, and their Stewards, and a pretty numerous congregation, by Dr. *Lavington*. I mention this because such a sight is to me a far more agreeable one, than what all the Court and City can furnish elsewhere; as giving me a kind of prospect and hopes of the real Reformation one Day of the *Primitive Catechumens and Illuminates*, with their Christian Instructions, Baptism, and the Eucharist, all succeeding one another: Which may they quickly be restored among us, and in all Christendom!

N. B. When I was at *Penshurst*, Dr. *Hammond's* old Living, during my first day's stay at *Tunbridge Wells*, on *Saturday August 23d*, 1746 (Which Living of near 400*l.* a year had been offered me by the Earl of *Leicester*, with whom I had not the least acquaintance, above 5 years before, but was by me refused; as the Reader may find in my Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* thereupon, printed in my *Three Tracts*, Page 1--12) I was very kindly received by my Successor, for so I call him, Mr. *Williams*; and was very glad to find that the Flock which should have been committed to my Care, could my Conscience have complied with the qualifications our unhappy Laws have made necessary, (which what they are, the Reader may see before, Page 72—75) were under the Care of Mr. *Williams*, a worthy person and very good Pastor, as he is universally allowed to be. I went thither twice, and was the second time shewed by Mr. *Perry*, the present possessor of the *Sidney* estate there, a singular passage, taken out of a printed original letter, written about
A. D.

A. D. 1642, which directly imports that the great Mr. *Chillingworth*, how sagacious and honest soever, at last defended *Socinianism*, and was therein utterly and immediately confuted by that excellent person, the Lord *Falkland*. See papers of State belonging to the *Sidney* family, Vol. II. Page 669. (I mean this only in case the Writer of the Letter well understood the difference between *Arianism* and *Socinianism*, which are often confounded one with another.) So that this Mr. *Chillingworth* had a strange diffidence and mutability of temper; which had made him when first a Protestant to turn Papist; and when a Papist to turn Protestant again; then to favour *Arianism*, as it is called, and on that account, in part by refusing to sign the 39 Articles, to lose some expected preferment; then to sign the 39 Articles, and accept of preferment, and after all to defend *Socinianism* itself. Which is such a round of contrarieties, as is hard to be parallel'd in any other learned man whomsoever. To be sure he at first wanted my darling motto, *Consider well and act steadily*; nor had he afterward *the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons* for his immoveable guide and standard, as I have now had near 40 years, which would have prevented all this uncertainty of conduct; and without which the several parties in *Christendom* have long been, and are still likely to be, in *polemical Controversies*, *polemical endless Controversies*, one with another. Nor will those *polemical Controversies* ever cease, I venture to affirm it, till those *Apostolical Constitutions and Canons* are admitted as the standing rule of Christianity.

Memorandum, That on *August* the 24th this Year 1746, being *Lord's Day*, and *St. Bartholomew's Day*, I breakfasted at Mr. *Bay's*, a dissenting Minister at *Tunbridge Wells*, and a successor, tho'

not immediate to Mr. *Humphrey Ditton*, and like him a very good Mathematician also: I told him, that I had just then come to a resolution, to go out always from the public worship of the Church of *England*, whenever the reader of Common Prayer read the *Athanasian Creed*; which I esteemed a public cursing the Christians: As I expected it might be read at the Chapel that very day, it being one of the thirteen days in the year, when the *Rubrick* appoints it to be read. Accordingly I told him, that I fully resolved to go out of the Chapel that very day, if the Minister of the Place began to read it. He told me, that Mr. *Dowding* the Minister, who was then a perfect stranger to me, had omitted it on a *Christmas-Day*, and so he imagined he did not use to read it. This proved to be true, so I had no opportunity afforded me then, to shew my detestation of that monstrous Creed: Yet have I since put in practice that resolution, and did so the first time at *Lincolns-Inn Chapel*, on *St. Simon and St. Jude's Day*, *October 28th*, 1746, when Mr. *Racolins* began to read it, and I then went out and came in again when it was over, as I always resolved to do afterwards. Accordingly on *St. Andrew's Day*, *November 30th*, the same year, when Mr. *Harrison* began to read it, at *St. George's Church, Queen-Square*, I then went out, and came in again when it was over: However, before I went to *Tunbridge Wells Chapel*, that very morning I received by the *London Post*, from a person perfectly unknown to me, a very remarkable and important letter; which will be set down in due place hereafter. Now before I declare my direct opinion in this important matter, which was desired by the writer, I shall endeavour to vindicate myself, at least in part, from this sad imputation of *Hypocrisy*, as to my former practice; tho' perhaps it will not be sufficient

sufficient to vindicate me *in the whole*, because I might have more fully declared my abhorrence of the *Athanasian* doctrines and curses, by going out of the Church while they were read, than by barely omitting to repeat that creed, with which I contented myself several years at first; or by sitting down also, while it was read, as I have now done for many years. However, that no honest man may blame me more than I deserve, I shall repeat here what I formerly said, when Mr. *Henley* charged me with joining in *Idolatrous Worship*, or even of *bowing down in the House of Rimmon*, by my frequenting the public service of the Church of *England*. Upon which occasion my words were these in the paper to him relating, page 29, 30. Where I “openly declare that how
 “unjustifiable soever I have long thought some
 “instances of worship in the *Athanasian* Churches,
 “and particularly in the Church of *England*,
 “with which I usually join in public worship
 “and the Eucharist; I mean during the great dif-
 “ficulties I am at present in, between joining in a
 “Church not yet free from the *Athanasian* heresy
 “in public Worship, or of omitting almost all
 “public Worship at all; yet did I never think
 “that undue Worship of the Son and Holy
 “Spirit, as equal to God the Father, which the
 “modern *Athanasians* have long ventured upon,
 “without, I verily think, nay against the entire
 “Old and New Testament, and without, nay,
 “against all the other ancient records of Chris-
 “tianity; to be, strictly speaking, in the lan-
 “guage of Scripture, the crime of *Idolatry*. It is
 “neither the worship of *false Gods*, nor of *Dæmons*,
 “nor of their *Images* or *Idols*; as was that of the
 “*Syrian Idol Rimmon*, which was *Idolatry* against
 “the *first* Commandment. Nor is it the worship
 “of the *true God* by an *Image* or *Idol*; as was that

“ of the *golden Calves* by *Aaron* and *Jeroboam*,
 “ which was *Idolatry* against the *second Command-*
 “ ment. Nor indeed is the *worship of Angels*,
 “ tho’ nearer to *Scripture Idolatry* than that be-
 “ fore us, called by *St. Paul Idolatry*. *Colos. ii.*
 “ *18.* So that had I joined with the Church in
 “ this *Athanasian Worship*; how criminal soever
 “ I had been on other accounts in so doing; yet
 “ had I not, in my own judgment been guilty
 “ of that most heinous crime of *Scripture Idolatry*.
 “ But that I ever join in that *Athanasian Worship*
 “ in any degree; or so much as appear to join in
 “ it, when I join in other parts of the public
 “ *Worship*, is notoriously false. Every body
 “ that takes notice of my constant behaviour in
 “ the public service, may easily perceive, that I
 “ never join in any of those parts of the *Nicene*
 “ *Creed*, of the *Litany*, or of the *Doxologies*, or
 “ of any *Prayers* or *Worship* whatsoever, that
 “ are of that kind. And that whenever I am
 “ present when the *Athanasian Creed*, that *Shame*
 “ and *Reproach of the public Worship of the Church*
 “ of *England* is there repeated, I do always sit
 “ down, to shew the whole *Congregation* my dis-
 “ agreeing thereto; so that if our *Orator* be re-
 “ solved to represent the Church of *England*, as in
 “ this respect *Idolatrous*, and the places of her
 “ public *Worship* as *Houses of Rimmon*, he ought
 “ to represent me as one that absolutely *refuse to*
 “ *bow down in the House of Rimmon*, upon any
 “ occasion of *Idolatry* whatsoever. And I far-
 “ ther declare, that I shall not think it lawful
 “ for me any longer to frequent that public
 “ *Worship*, than I am not only permitted to join
 “ in the rest of it, without joining with the *Atha-*
 “ *nasian Parts*, but permitted to make this open
 “ declaration that I do not, and dare not join in
 “ in those parts for any consideration,”

But

But although I myself, who have been all along so open and undisguised in my whole conduct, in opposition to all my wordly interests and persuasions of friends whatsoever in these Sacred Matters, have so much of excuse to make for myself; yet is not that the case of the generality of those who agree with me in private, but do not care to hazard any part of their reputation, or ease, or preferments in public, for the sake of Truth alone, and true Religion. It is therefore in vain to urge these private proselytes in the established Church, to go over to any of the Dissenters for greater Purity of Worship as the fore-mention'd Letter proposes; since that will equally, if not more, contradict their interest in this World, than their imitation of me would amount to. Otherwise it is certainly very much more necessary for them to separate from the established Church, on account of these Points of great Moment, and at the lowest, near the fundamentals of Christianity, than very many of these Dissenters did of old separate from the Church of *England*, about Forms of Prayer, or Surplices, or the Cross in Baptism, &c. which are comparatively very small differences. Nor can the Church of *England*, while she supports such gross corruptions and curses of primitive Christianity, justly blame any of her former Members, who on these accounts separate from her Communion. However, there are some reasons why I have difficulties upon me in wholly deserting the public Service of the Church of *England*, for that of any of our present Dissenters. They frequently, if not constantly, make use of extempore prayers, even in their public Worship; which renders it uncertain in many cases, whether several things either false, or unworthy of God, may not be uttered in their assemblies: And thereby I may be obliged to join unwarily in what I came thither

to avoid, to my own dissatisfaction, tho' I confess, I have hardly ever been sensible of such unlawful petitions since I left the established Church: Nor can I ever, I confess, join in any devotions so earnestly, as in those Forms I am most perfectly acquainted with. Nor have I in all my researches into *Jewish* and *Christian* antiquity ever found that public Worship was trusted to extempore devotions; excepting the case of the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, in a few particular Churches, on extraordinary occasions, in the age of the Apostles. Altho' I must also profess I have not found that any of those public Forms were of a bare human composition; but were rather of Apostolical; nay, probably of Divine Original. Besides this, our Dissenters usually confine their public Worship to the Lord's Day only; while it ought in all places, where a sufficient number of Christians are in the neighbourhood, to be twice every day; a constant *Morning and Evening Sacrifice*. Nor do the same Dissenters any where, that I know of, administer the Holy Communion every Lord's Day; as it ought to be: All which things used to be in some measure provided for in both the Parishes where I lately frequented the public Worship in *London*, *St. Dunstan's* in the West, and *St. George's, Queen-square*; where I used not to fail to be present, unless hindered by sickness or extraordinary occasions. In short, to determine the question proposed to me, I see no very right way of avoiding all the before-mentioned difficulties, in point of Conscience, but by setting up new and truly Christian Congregations: Which as I have formerly done at my own house, at some times, several years ago, of which mention has been made already; so have I frequently expressed my earnest desire of making up 120 members of such a Congregation, for the *Revival* of that *Primitive Christianity*,

Christianity, which began with that Number, *Acts* i. 15. wherein I would myself, while life and health would permit, constantly officiate, according to that *Liturgy of the Church of England, reduced to the primitive Standard*, which I published 35 years ago, and have ever since made use of upon all such occasions; and part of which I constantly use twice a day, either with a Congregation or alone. And may God Almighty bless mine and all other good Christian's Endeavours, for the setting up such truly primitive Congregations, and may such Congregations, when they are once set up, *increase more and more unto a perfect Day*, and partake of the largest portions of divine Grace here, and of the highest degrees of heavenly Glory hereafter! *Amen, Amen.*

But then, that I may not be in the least suspected of hypocrisy, in having so long, for the main, joined with the assemblies of the Church of *England*, I shall here honestly declare in what particulars I did not, I could not join with them.

(1.) In the *Te Deum*, I chose to say, Thou art the *Only begotten*, instead of *Everlasting Son* of the Father.

(2.) In the common Creed, I said Christ descended into *Hades*, instead of into *Hell*.

(3.) In the Litany, I direct the Prayers to the Father; and entirely omitted the third and fourth Petitions to the *Holy Ghost*, and to the *Trinity*.

(4.) In the Prayer for the Parliament, I omitted the Epithets to the King, *Most Religious and Gracious*.

(5.) In the Collect, for the sixth *Sunday* after the *Epiphany*, and elsewhere, I omitted the Words *Holy Ghost*, and *One God*,

(6.) I

(6.) I intirely omitted the Collect for *Trinity Sunday*.

(7.) In the *Nicene Creed* I omitted the words, *Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten not made; being of one Substance with the Father.* Of the Holy Ghost, I said, *proceedeth from the Father by the Son; who after the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified.*

(8.) In the Communion Service I said, *St. Paul exhorteth the Corinthians.* And I entirely omitted the *proper Preface for Trinity Sunday*; and wished that *Water* were mixed with the *Wine* in this Office.

(9.) I never joined in the Baptism of uncatechised Infants, nor in any Baptism by sprinkling; nor in the answers of the Church Catechism which belong to God-fathers and God-mothers, &c.

(10.) In the Form of Burial, I would not use the words, *As our Hope is this our Brother or Sister doth*: When by the Gospel there is little or no Hopes of Salvation: And finally,

(11.) I heartily wished that all our State Holy-days were abolished.

I now proceed to another remarkable thing that happened to me at *Tunbridge*, while I was A. D. 1746. about my Lectures there, on the models of the Tabernacle of *Moses*, and of *Solomon's*, *Zorobabel's*, *Herod's*, and *Ezekiel's* Temples: Which Lectures I had also read at the same place, as well as at *Bristol* and *Bath*, twenty years before. Now when I had finished my Lectures, and that, I think, to the satisfaction of my pretty numerous audience, I gave them Bishop *Sherlock's* most excellent sermon upon the late Rebellion; with a *Memento* almost peculiar to that place: Which to prevent mistakes, and false reports, I read out of a Paper. It was as follows:

“ To

“ To conclude the whole, I must say, That
 “ tho’ I have now been here a fortnight, and have
 “ seen several of this company, both Ladies and
 “ Gentlemen, at Prayers on the Week-Days,
 “ and a great number of them at public Wor-
 “ ship on the Lord’s-Days, yet have I not myself
 “ seen any one of them at a Gaming-Table all
 “ this while. And I cannot but wish, heartily
 “ wish, that no body else had seen any one of
 “ them at such a place neither. However, I
 “ venture to add this, which I desire you all to
 “ take special notice of, that if I be right in my
 “ calculation, as to our Blessed Saviour’s coming
 “ to restore the *Jews*, and begin the *Millenium* 20
 “ years hence, I cannot but conclude, that after
 “ those 20 years are over, there will be no
 “ more an Infidel in *Christendom*; and there will
 “ be no more a Gaming-Table at *Tunbridge*,”

Sept. 6, 1746.

W. W.

But now before the end of *September*, in the same year 1746, there came to us at *Lyndon* no contemptible piece, in the modern way of controversy, from the Quakers; against Swearing and Fighting; against Tythes; against Water-Baptism, and the Eucharist; with a vindication of Women’s preaching publicly, which latter piece was written by Mr. *Josiah Martin*, one already mentioned as the most learned of those of that persuasion that I had ever known, and once no unuseful member of our old *Society for promoting Primitive Christianity*. Yet is it most evident, from all the original Records of Christianity now extant, which are very numerous, even in the two first Centuries; that payment of Tythes for the use of the Poor; Baptism by trine immersion into water, and the Eucharist, with bread, wine, and water, were Apostolical Institutions, or to speak

more properly, Institutions of our blessed Saviour himself by his Apostles. And that after the extraordinary gifts in one or two Churches of the first Century were over, and the settlements by our Saviour took place universally, no women were ever allowed to preach or speak in the public assemblies of Christians. All which notorious Truths, will not I suppose be denied by the authors of this pamphlet: To be sure all those Writers are so weak like almost all the rest of the present Christians, as to acknowledge no more sacred books of the New Testament than those 27, which the Church of *Rome* have alone given us: Whereas their original number even still preserved to us, by a most happy Providence, is no fewer than 56. As they are all enumerated at the end of my *primitive New Testament*, and that 27 known ones there published from the oldest manuscripts. As to *Swearing* and *Fighting*, *Oaths* and *Wars*, I esteem so few of them to be lawful, that I care not to quarrel with the Quakers about them; tho' I believe the most Primitive Christians did not think either of them absolutely unlawful. As for the Tythes, they were given under Christianity to the inferior Orders of the Clergy, and to the poor, as were the first fruits and voluntary oblations to the superior Orders of the Clergy; of all which already: Which distribution of the Church's goods under our Saviour's kingdom, which I firmly believe to be now approaching, will I suppose be set right again. Tho' till that can be put in practice, I think these Quakers far from being in the right, when they scruple paying their Tythes to the present Clergy; tho' certainly such Clergy had much better be so diligent in their function, peaceable in their behaviour, and friendly to all that differ from them; as thereby to gain those Tythes rather with the good will of those
that

that are to pay them, than to fly presently to the Law to demand them.

In the year 1741, and 1742, Mr. *John Renshaw*, my agent, went round the Coast of *England*, and surveyed it trigonometrically, from the North Foreland in *Kent*, to the Land's End in *Cornwall*, and the *Scilly Islands*; partly by private benefactions, but principally by public money assigned for that purpose, by the commissioners of the Longitude, but could not then be conveyed to Cape Clear, on the South-West of *Ireland*; which could only be determined by the Eclipses of Jupiter's Planets. This was done accordingly at my expence, by Mr. *Renshaw*, in May 1744. The Chart itself, which is large, includes also the *French Coast*, which Dr. *Halley* had published before, as determin'd by the *French Astronomers* from the like Eclipses of Jupiter's Planets. But he had not himself instruments for taking either the Longitude or the Latitude of our own Coasts: This Chart of ours was published in 1745. Price 6s. I take it to be the exactest Chart for Coasts by far that has ever been made.

The providential delivery of the Vaudois, from the French Forces near Exilles, in Piedmont, July 8-19, 1747.

Taken from the authentic account in the London Gazette extraordinary, Whitehall, July 22d, 1747.

Turin, July 21. N. S.

ON the 19th instant, at two in the morning, the Count de Briqueras having had advice that the enemies were approaching the heights of *Affiete* (in the road to the *Vaudois*) caused his battalions

talions to enter the intrenchments; where they remained till seven in the morning: But as they suffered very much by the cold, and the enemy made no motion towards the attacking us, they were brought back into the Camp: Some hours after the enemy began to move, which obliged our battalions to return into the intrenchments; which were immediately attacked by the *French*, to the number of 40 battalions, in three columns, with nine pieces of cannon, four pounders, supported by a reserve of 8 other battalions. Our intrenchments were not yet furnished with cannon; because it was necessary in order to bring it up to cut a way out through the rocks and there had not been time to finish it; whereas on the other hand the enemy could bring up theirs without difficulty, by the way which they came. The attack was very brisk, and the *French* advanced by *Sap* quite up to the foot of our intrenchment, to beat it down, returning to the charge four times; but were constantly repulsed with loss. The fire lasted from eleven in the morning, till the evening; when the enemy retreated towards *Setrieres*, pursued by some companies of Grenadiers, who charged them sword in hand upon the descent of the mountain.

Of the 14 battalions which we had with us, viz. 10 *Piedmontese* and 4 *Austrian*, there were but eight of the former, and two of the latter, who could by their situation have any share in the action. Our loss amounts in all to 120 men. The enemies loss amounts to at least 5000 men; amongst which the Lieutenant-General Chevalier de *Belliesle* was killed; and whose death caused them to retreat. It is reckoned they have lost above 300 Officers, they left at *Sceau* 600 wounded, who were not in a condition to be carried off.

There

There is another authentic account in the *Gazette* that came soon afterward, from one in the action, *viz.* Major General Count *Coloredo*, and dated *July* 20th. The 6th of the month I received orders from *Turin* to march forthwith, with the four battalions, towards *Perusa* (close by, or among the *Vaudois*) and set forward accordingly: But before I got thither, I had notice from the Commandant of *Fenestrelles* (another place close by, or among the *Vaudois*) of the approach of the enemy, and was earnestly press'd by him to advance that very day to that place; which I executed after a very fatiguing march.

The 17th, as the enemy approached more and more, I ordered the two battalions of *Traun* and *Hagenbach* to march quite up to the intrenchments, at the *Col della Sieta*, advancing myself with the two other battalions, *viz.* those of *Coloredo* and *Forgatsch*, upon the heights of *Barboti*; from whence I saw in the valley opposite to me a body of the enemy, from 12 to 15 battalions.

The 18th, we still saw the enemies' tents, but the greatest part of their troops was gone, whereupon I quitted that post towards the evening, advancing in the night with incredible fatigue, through roads almost impassable in the mountains, as far as *Valsta*, and reached the *Col della Sieta* before day-break; keeping along the side of the intrenchments.

The 19th, the two battalions had hardly incamp'd when the enemy came exactly in the front of the intrenchment, consisting according to the accounts of their own officers, now our prisoners, of 44 battalions; whilst their advanced posts were skirmishing with our volunteers, and even driving them from a hill close by our redoubts, they planted 7 cannons upon the same hill, and began to flank our retrenchments with

Y

them,

them, and formed themselves therein four columns: They began to assault us on all sides, with such vigour, or rather fury, that their first column pushed on quite to the parapet of the redoubt; but it met with so warm a reception from the Grenadiers of the *Sardinian* Regiment of Guards, that after a combat of three hours it was almost totally ruined.

The second column which attacked the Flank where I was posted, with the battalions of *Traun*, and *Forgatsch*, had the misfortune to be likewise repulsed with a great slaughter, after two hours combat.

The third column which poured down from a mountain upon the left flank of the intrenchment was repuls'd five times.

The fourth column appeared very little; and the issue of the whole was, towards seven in the evening, the enemy rallied their broken and flying troops, retreating to the place from whence they set out, and leaving us a compleat victory: Our whole loss is inconsiderable, whereas that of the enemy exceeds 4000 men killed, and wounded, and prisoners; amongst the slain is the Chevalier de *Belleisle*, commander in chief, and the Major General *Arnault*; with a great number of other officers.

Amongst the prisoners, the number of whom amounts to 11 or 1200, is the Brigadier *Borgete*. The enemy left 600 wounded men at *Say*, &c.

N. B. As I look upon this as a providential delivery of these *Vaullois*, so do I look upon the taking of *Cape Breton* by us in the year 1745, as well as the disappointment of the *French* the next year 1746, when they attempted *Annapolis*, and other of our plantations in *America*, to be highly providential

dential also : And both of them the more remarkably so, on account of the unexpected and most providential Peace and its consequences, that have followed those events, and which we now enjoy. Both of them have been in a very excellent manner signalized by Mr. *Prince*, in his two Sermons at *Boston* in *New-England*; the serious perusal of which I do heartily recommend to every Christian.

A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

From Sam. Barker's Esq; at Lyndon, Rutland,
near Uppingham, Jan. 23, 1747-8.

My Lord,

AFTER my hearty good wishes for your escaping the dangerous temptations of your high station, and your doing much good to true religion therein, I think it proper to inform you, that in the days of Archbishop *Potter* I wrote to his learned Chaplain Dr. *Chapman*, and complained of the poor mean composition of the Forms of Prayer for the Days of Fasting during this War : Which as they were plainly beneath those of Mr. *Overal*, my friend, a layman among the Dissenters, who had then published others for the like occasion, so did I desire him to inform me, whether that admirable Collect of Thanksgiving and Prayer on occasion of the great Storm, *November 27, 1703*, for which I have long sought in vain, were to be met with at *Lambeth*; and if it were I desired a copy. To which I had no answer. That Form, if it could be found, would be an excellent pattern for future Forms. However, if that cannot be found, I beg that you will provide better Forms for the time to come; and particularly that you will insert into the next

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Form

Form for the Fast, *February 17.* what has hitherto been utterly neglected, I mean some serious Collect on occasion of the long and sore Murrain or Plague, now destroying the Horned Cattle : Which how far it may extend we none of us know. This may not only then be used, but afterwards also during the continuance of that distemper ; which has been no way stopped hitherto either by natural or political means used for that purpose. I say natural and political means only ; for neither do any medical methods of cure considerably avail, nor have any other means but political, been tryed by the public hitherto, as if we had no notion of the interposition of Providence in such a terrible, and general, and long a Judgment as this has been. I know that my brethren the Baptists in this neighbourhood have earnestly and frequently petitioned God Almighty in their places of public Worship, for a stoppage of so great and uncommon a calamity : And I suppose other Dissenters do the same in their places of public Worship also. While our Churches, intended for higher purposes, have been only employed to read orders of the State relating thereto. But how it has come to pass that the established Church of *England* has been quite silent all along, as to the religious part, I believe no good reason can be given. If our thirteen times a year *cursing* the *Eusebians* or Primitive Christians by public authority in the *Athanasian Creed* were once corrected ; our Manners in Court and Country thoroughly amended, and our Prayers on all such occasions were more solemn and serious than they now are, we might hope that God Almighty would pity us and our poor dumb creatures, and procure both them a release from this distemper, and ourselves a deliverance from the effects of it, and from those other great and amazing Judgments

Mr. William Whiston. 341

ments which I fully and suddenly expect; as a consequence of what is already begun, and this upon the most authentic evidence. I am,

My Lord,

Your obliged and very humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. On that Fast-Day, *Feb.* 17th, I went to our congregation at *Morcot*, which was very solemn, and supplied by the Prayers of our several Preachers one after another, with a sermon on the occasion by one of them. Where also I myself read that excellent sermon about the Murrain, on *Exod.* ix. Part of the 3d and 6th verses, which I had before read at our Family Morning Devotions that day. And which I told them I wished had been preached in every Church and Meeting in these Kingdoms.

The Archbishop's ANSWER.

Revd. Sir,

I Thank you most kindly for your good Letter, and am better pleased with your Christian wishes for me, than with a hundred compliments I have received in pick'd and elegant phrases. Yours, I am sure, comes from a good heart, and a sober judgment; I will do the best I can in this station, to which indeed I have been forced. And as neither pride, nor ambition, nor covetousness tempted me to desire it, so it is my daily prayer to God, that in the use and exercise of this great Office, I may keep my heart and my hands free from those sad temptations. What you hint about

the Form of Prayer, your age and learning, and experience give you a right to say ; but it becomes those who have less of all those to be a little more reserved : The same Form is come out by authority for this year. Many good men concur with you on the subject of the Murrain ; and I am afraid in a little time it will make the stoutest of us cry out for Mercy, and reach those high places which seem almost out of the reach of such calamities. Upon your hint I looked over the Forms of Prayer, and find one for the 17th of Jan. 1703-4. This I suppose is what you mean, and I send you one of the Prayers transcribed.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your assured Friend,

Kensington, Jan. 28, 1747.

THO. CANTUAR.

The PRAYER.

Great and glorious Lord God, just and terrible in thy Judgments, and unsearchable in all thy ways : At whose rebuke the earth trembles, and the very foundations of the hills shake ; who also commandest the winds and the sea and they obey. We vile dust, and miserable sinners, in a most awful sense of thy amazing Judgments, our own great and manifold provocations, and thy tender mercy to the penitent, do with all humility of soul, cast ourselves down before thy footstool ; bewailing our unworthiness, and imploring thy pity, and the bowels of thy compassion. We beseech thee, O Lord, to awaken our consciences, that we may see and duly consider thy hand, which in so astonishing a manner
has

has been lifted up against us. Pardon our own crying sins, and those of the whole nation; which have drawn down this thy heavy displeasure upon us; and grant us such a measure of thy grace, that we may no more disobey thy laws, abuse thy goodness and forbearance; or despise this and other thy chastisements, lest a worse thing come unto. It is of thy goodness, O Lord, that we were not all consumed by the late Winds and Storms, which fulfill'd thy commandment; and that in the midst of judgment thou didst remember mercy; shewing forth the care of thy Providence in so many wonderful preservations of thy people. Let the Remembrance of them work in us such a thankfulness of heart, and such a seriousness and watchfulness of spirit, that no calamity may ever be a surprize to us, nor death itself come upon us unawares. That so we may at length arrive safely at that blessed Kingdom which cannot be shaken, for the Sake of *Jesus Christ*, our only Mediator and Advocate.

N. B. On *Ascension-Day*, May 19th, 1748. The Collect on account of the Murrain was first read at *Lyndon Church*.

A short view of those National and Personal Sins which call for Humiliation and Repentance. By Mr. Overal.

WHEN we are called upon by public authority, to humble ourselves in the sight of God, on account of our manifold sins and trespasses against him, we should, in order to prepare our minds for that solemn work, seriously reflect upon those national and personal transgressions, which render us unworthy of the

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divine

divine favour, and expose us to his just displeasure.

If it should be asked, what sins may properly be called National? I answer all such Laws and Customs of a Nation, as are contrary to the Laws of God, or tend to subvert the foundation of Religion and Virtue, of which kind I am afraid we have too many amongst us: I shall take notice of them, in hopes that they who have it in their power, will either repeal or amend them.

Those Laws which enjoin unnecessary and impracticable Oaths, and require the great and tremendous Name of God to be used upon trifling occasions, are not in my apprehension among the least of our National Sins. It would be endless to run over all the places where this ungodly traffic is carried on, and therefore I shall only mention two of them, one in the Commercial, and the other in the Learned World. That in the Commercial World is our Custom-Houses, where a multitude of Oaths are taken, some of them absurd and impracticable, and I think most of them unnecessary; so that they seem to be administered more for the sake of the Fee which is paid for them, than for any thing else. There is likewise so little reverence observed either in the administering or taking those Oaths, that a by-stander, who was a stranger to the affair, would never imagine that the great God of Heaven and Earth was appealed to in that transaction; for which reason, together with the known absurdity of some of them, a Custom-House Oath is become a proverbial expression, for a thing not to be regarded. The pretence for these Oaths is the prevention of frauds, but is it likely that they should answer such an end, when no man is, or indeed can be punished for the breach
of

of them? for it seems our wise Lawyers have determined, that the breach of an Oath, is not a perjury punishable by Law, unless such Oath is taken in a Court of Record, which distinction I am persuaded hath been the occasion of numberless Perjuries. Frauds in the Customs are punishable by Law, and would be so if no Oaths were taken: But if a fraudulent man is not deterred by such punishments, it can hardly be suppos'd that he would be deterr'd by any Oath which hath no punishment annexed to the breach of it; and therefore as these Oaths do not answer the end proposed by them, and as the frauds committed in violation of them, are as punishable without them, as with them, they are evidently unnecessary, and ought to be laid aside.

The other place where swearing abounds, and unnecessary and impracticable Oaths are administered, is our *Universities*, where every Student, soon after his admission, is to take what they call the *Matriculation Oath*, wherein he swears to be obedient to the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor; and to observe the Laws, Statutes and Customs of the University, and this without so much as knowing, what those Laws, Statutes, and Customs are; and which if ever he does know them, he will find to be such, as neither he, nor any man living can observe; and yet this Oath of Obedience to the Statutes, the Student is to take again when he comes to be of the foundation, or Scholar of the house; and when he takes his degree of Batchelor of Arts, and Master of Arts, and Doctor of Divinity; as if every step to college-preferment was to be ascended by perjury: A man would perhaps be thought very uncharitable, who should say that there is not a man in either of our Universities who is not forsworn. And yet harsh as this may seem, it is, God knows.

knows, too true. To say that these are only customary Oaths, doth by no means lessen the guilt of continuing them. A custom of sinning is an aggravation, and not an extenuation of the crime: Besides there seems to be less occasion for Oaths in schools, or seminaries of learning, than in most other places, for as scholarships are not places of Trust, nor afford opportunity of Fraud, nothing but the unworthy behaviour of the Student can render him obnoxious to punishment: And if his conduct is such as to deserve it, the Society have power to expel him; which power may be as effectually exercised if no Oaths at all were taken or required: And therefore they are evidently unnecessary and ought to be left off; and the more so, as they cannot possibly be productive of any good, but may have a very bad effect upon the minds of youth, and lay the foundation of many and great immoralities in the after part of their lives: For it is highly probable that their being educated under a disregard to what are called customary Oaths, taken to observe impracticable statutes, or else their being put to mean quibbles and evasions to avoid the obligation of them, may so debauch their tender reason and conscience, as to occasion a disregard to solemn Oaths, in affairs of the greatest importance. Let us therefore lay aside this ungodly practice of taking the name of God in vain, *for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.*

There is another law, and I think a very unjust one, which bears hard upon men of University education; as it lays them under strong temptations to act against the Light and Reason of their own minds: For after a man has spent many years in study, he cannot be admitted to such degrees in the University, as his learning and
standing

standing may intitle him to : Nor if he is designed for a Clergyman, be capable of holding any Living or Church Preferment, unless he subscribes and solemnly declares his assent and consent to Articles and Creeds of human composition, which he neither does nor can believe. It is a melancholy consideration, that men should spend so much time in fitting themselves for a profession, which they cannot be permitted to exercise without great prevarication. How can Clergymen expect that their ministration should be attended with the Divine Blessing, or have any good effect upon the consciences of other men, when they begin them with such a notorious violation of their own. For God's Sake let us remove this stumbling block out of the way, and lay aside Articles and Creeds drawn up by weak and fallible men, and make the Word of God the only rule of our Faith and Practice, lest we provoke him to remove our candlestick out of its place, and to transfer that Light which we have despised to a people more worthy of it.

Another addition to our load of national guilt, and a very heavy one too, are those Laws which require the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be taken as a qualification for a civil employment. That such laws should be approved and vindicated by Christian Bishops and Clergymen, is astonishing; and yet this is done under pretence of their being a security to the Church of *England*. But how the prostitution of a solemn ordinance of the Church of Christ, to Atheists, Infidels and Debauchees, can be a security to the Church of *England*, I am at a loss to imagine; unless the Church of *England*, and the Church of Christ, are supposed to be different things. But as such a practice cannot in the nature of the thing have any tendency to secure Piety and Virtue, it is plain

plain that worldly riches and power, or the temporalities of the Church, are the only things intended to be secured by it; if so, may it not be expected that when a Sacred Rite, appointed by the King and Governor of his Church, as a standing memorial of his love to it, is perverted from its original design, and made subservient to worldly ends and purposes, that it will be looked upon as a dishonour done to the institution, and be resented accordingly? How such of our Bishops and Clergy, as contend for the continuance of these laws, will answer it to the great Shepherd, and Bishop of Souls, at the last day, must be left to themselves to consider: I hope God will put it into the hearts of our King, Lords, and Commons, to take away this reproach from our Church and Nation, that this Sin may no longer be laid to our charge.

Another of our errors established by law is, the taking away men's lives for robbery or theft; which I think is neither warranted by the laws of God, nor by the reason and fitness of things.

By the law of God, we are expressly forbid to kill; so that it must be unlawful to take away the life of a man in any case, or for any crime, unless such crime is particularly excepted out of the command by the same authority, as Murder and Adultery, and some other crimes are; but robbery or theft is no where excepted out of this law; but, on the contrary, has a particular punishment annexed to it by God himself: And therefore I am afraid we presume too far, and intrench too much upon the divine prerogative, when we make laws to punish it with death, and act not only without, but against the authority of him, who hath said, *Thou shalt not kill.*

It may perhaps be thought strange by the Libertines of our Age, that God should annex a greater punishment

punishment to Adultery than to Robbery; but be it known to them, that in God's account the one is a greater Sin than the other; and indeed it seems to be so; for there is a possibility of making restitution and reparation for the damage done by Robbery; but the injury done by Adultery can never be repaired, nor the lost Innocence restored, but this only by the way.

If it should be said in favour of these laws, that all Societies must have within themselves a power of making laws, for the security of property, and of annexing proper punishments to the breach of them, otherwise there would be nothing but rapine and violence amongst mankind.

I answer, that as God is the supreme Lord and Governor of the World, no man, nor body of men can have any power or authority to make laws contrary to his, nor to annex any punishments to the breach of them, which he hath expressly forbid.

If it be alledged, that when men enter into civil Societies, they may for their mutual benefit give up some of their natural Rights, and agree to hold their Lives, Liberties and Properties upon certain terms and conditions, and to forfeit them upon the breach of those conditions; which compact or agreement, when voluntarily entered into, ought to oblige the contracting parties; and therefore, as every man in this Nation, hath either in person, or by his representatives, given his assent to those laws which punish robbery with Death; the inflicting such a punishment upon the offenders of these laws cannot be unjust.

To this it may be replied, that the great Author and Giver of Life is the sole disposer of it; and therefore, as no man hath a right to dispose either of his own, or of other men's Lives, all compacts

compacts or agreements entered into for that purpose, must of consequence be null and void.

If it be further urged, that every man, who robs, sins with his eyes open, and knows the penalty beforehand; and therefore if he commits the crime, the law is not to be blamed, if he is hanged for it, since it was done knowingly and wilfully.

To which I answer, that the wilfulness of a transgression is not a sufficient reason for an excess of punishment; and therefore if laws ordain punishments for crimes, as greatly exceed the demerit of them, such laws must be blame-worthy; which brings me to the next head, wherein I propose to shew,

That the taking away men's Lives for Robbery is not warranted by the reason and fitness of things. The reason of things, or the law of equity requires, that punishments should be proportioned to the crimes committed: But what proportion is there between the Life of a man, which when once lost, is lost for ever, and a little money, the loss of which may soon be recovered? Or is it fit and reasonable, that for a few temporal goods a miserable Sinner should be for ever deprived of all opportunities of repentance and amendment, and hurried into an eternal World, with all his crimes about him, as it is to be feared is the condition of most of them? O cruel Justice! I heartily wish that the Souls of these poor wretches may not cry to Heaven for vengeance against us. This severity I am persuaded hath been the occasion of a great many Murders, which would not have been committed, if Robbery, hadnot been made punishable with death, for when men know that they shall be hanged for Robbery, and that they can be but hang'd for Murder, the principle of self-preservation will oftentimes prompt them to commit the one, in order to conceal

conceal the other; this likewise renders them desperate and bloody-minded, when they are under any apprehensions of being discovered and taken.

I shall conclude this head with observing, that those laws which make no distinction in the punishment of crimes, so vastly different, as Robbery and Murder certainly are, cannot be agreeable to the eternal and immutable reason of things; and therefore I cannot but wish they were altered.

And that the punishment annexed to Robbery was only to be slavery, and confinement to hard labour for Life, or at least, until * some restitution was made, and some plain signs of repentance and amendment appeared; and that persons convicted of Murder should not be executed by hanging them by the neck; but that their blood should be shed by cutting off their heads, as is practised in *Holland*; these, I think, would be punishment more agreeable to the Laws of God, and the reason of things; which require no more in case of Robbery than ample restitution, or perpetual slavery; but in case of Murder, the Law of God directs, that † who so sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man his Blood should be shed; and indeed this method of execution seems to be most proper in the nature of things, and is most likely to have a better effect upon others; for when those Crowds of Spectators, who usually attend executions, see the blood of a Murderer flowing from his veins, it will strike them with more terror, than if they saw him only turned off a Ladder, with a cap before his face, to hide the distortions of his countenance; and consequently be more apt to restrain them from the like Sin, which is the chief end of all punishments. I shall only add

* *Exodus* xxii. 3. † *Genesis* ix. 6.

one one observation from the celebrated † *Sir Thomas More*; That if under the *Mosaic* dispensation, which was rigorous enough, Theft or Robbery was only punish'd with fine or slavery; it can never be supposed, that under the Christian Dispensation, which is infinitely more merciful and gracious, men should have a greater liberty to destroy their Fellow-Creatures.

Another Sin under which this Nation groans, though not encouraged by any Law, is that Luxury and Extravagance in Eating and Drinking, and in Dress and Equipage, and all manner of Diversions, especially that cursed one of Gaming, which so generally prevails amongst us. It is a melancholy Truth, but true it is, that more money is often spent by the *Dives's* of our Age, in one day's luxurious entertainment, than would feed an hundred poor *Lazarus's* for some weeks; and that greater sums are frequently laid out in cloaths and ornaments for a Bride, or a Birth-Day, than would cloath a thousand poor Creatures, who are almost naked; and more lost in one night's gaming than would support many families for a whole year. But let those who are richly cloathed, and fare sumptuously every day, remember that temporal riches are talents which must be accounted for; and if they are not laid out in Alms-giving and Charity, the scene will soon be changed, and the time come, when they who have enjoyed this World's Goods, but they have shut up their Bowels of Compassion from their Brethren in Want, shall themselves beg in vain, and be told, that they in their Life-times were possess'd of abundance of good

† The practice of putting men to death for Robbery was very justly censured by *Sir T. More*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* in a Book called *Utopia*, but is nevertheless continued among us.

things, which the Poor were never the better for, but were spent in vanity and pleasure, which they esteemed as their chiefest good; and therefore, as they had already received that portion of happiness which they chuse, there now remained nothing for them, but great and endless misery; but for those who had received evil things, and had born them with patience and resignation to the Divine Will, endless Joy, and ever during Felicity. God grant that this consideration may abate our Luxury and Pride, and increase our Charity and Humility.

To the Sins which have been mentioned, may be added a multitude of others, which tho' strictly speaking they are personal, yet by reason of their general prevalence, may in some sense be called *national*.

Such as the general neglect of divine worship, in public and in private, and the taking the holy and reverend Name of God in vain, both in common conversation, and by that horrible cursing and swearing which is daily heard in every place; the little care and concern in parents and masters of families to train up their children and servants in the principles of Religion and Virtue; and as the natural consequences of such neglect, the disobedient, rebellious, and profligate conduct and behaviour of the rising generation; the whoredoms and adulteries, which in this brazen age of ours are not only committed but boasted of; the murders and robberies which are so frequent amongst us; and that spirit of detraction and calumny, envy and covetousness, which every where abounds, which are sad presages of approaching ruin, and unless speedily repented of and amended, must draw down the vengeance of Heaven upon us, and make it necessary for the righteous Governor of the World to vindicate

the honour of his moral Government, by the destruction of a sinful Nation.

In the year 1748 I published my Sacred History of the *Old and New Testament*, from the creation of the world, till the days of *Constantine the Great*: reduced into annals.

Containing withal the Fulfilling of Scripture Prophecies all along: A compleat Catalogue of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon mentioned by the Antients: Bishop *Lloyd's* Origines of the *Jewish Church*, from the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*, till the Death of *Moses*. The Preface to his Exposition of *Daniel's* LXX Weeks. Both these never before published: Fragments of the oldest Gospels: Fragments of the *Acts*, &c. of *Peter* and *Paul*: An Account of the oldest Copies of the *New Testament*, especially of *Beza's* inestimable Greek and Latin Copy of the four Gospels and *Acts* of the Apostles, now in the Library of the University of *Cambridge*: From which, and from the *Clermont* and *Alexandrian* Manuscripts, Mr. *Whiston's* *Primitive New Testament* is now published in *English*.

Containing also CLV Observations, for correcting the modern errors in sacred chronology: For discovering the true chronology of *Peter*: For determining the *Authors*, times and places of the publication of the IV Gospels, and the other books of the *New Testament*: For correction of the mistakes in our modern copies; and, for stating the proper rules of judging about true readings, &c. *Timothy's* Epistle to *Diognetus*, now first put into *English*, and proved to be genuine. A future State frequent in the original copies of the *Old Testament*: A Confutation of *Porphry*: The Martyrdom of *Polycarp*: The Martyrdom of *Perpetua* and *Felicitas*, with notes: The *Acts* of the Council of *Antioch* in the third century, &c.

A Propofal for a new and cheap edition of the primitive Writers, and for fixing them, as lending Libraries, in every parifh of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and the plantations thereunto belonging: A Table of LXXXI of *Paul's* Journeys and Voyages, in VII Periods, and XXXV years after his Conversion: Together with other proper Chronological Tables and Indexes are added at the end.

London printed for the Author, and fold by *John Whiston* in *Fleet-ftreet*, and *Francis Bifhop*, in *Little Turn-ftile Holborn*, 1748. Price to Subfcribers 1 l. 6 s. but to others a Guinea and half in Sheets.

N. B. When I was at *Newberry* with Mr. *Collet*, in the week after *Whitfun-week*, A. D. 1748, I met with very agreeable Company, and heard the worthy Mr. *Mace* preach twice on *Sunday* in the fame Meeting-houfe, where my old learned Friend Mr. *James Pierce* had preached, before he went to *Exeter*: I there alfo met with a very authentic account of the impofing and oppreffive Spirit of the late Mr. *Edward Harley*, and his *Athanafians* among the Diffenters: For he fent down an un-fcriptural Formulary of the *Athanafian* Doctrine into *Cumberland*, to be fubfcribed by fuch of the diffenting preachers as defired affiftance out of the Diffenters fund at *London*; the difpofal whereof lay much in his power. This was fubfcribed by four of thofe preachers, before they were aware, and before they had confulted their brethren. But when it came to the turn of one of much better confideration, he put a flop to it, and on the contrary drew up a very excellent declaration againft fuch impofitions, and againft taking away the ufual allowance to preachers on any fuch accounts; which was fully approved by the reft of

his brethren, and even by the four who had been betrayed into the former subscription.

On the 19th of *December*, 1717, Dr. Colbatch preached his excellent sermon in commemoration of the founders and benefactors of *Trinity College, Cambridge*. Of which Dr. *Smalridge*, then Dean of *Christ's Church, Oxford*, said to me, that it was fit to be read over once a Quarter by all Governors of Colleges. In this Sermon, p. 30. he speaks thus of my most intimate friend Dr. *Laughton*, then a Tutor at *Clare Hall*, who yet was very opposite to him in party Notions: "We see
 " what a Confluence of Nobility and Gentry the
 " Virtue of one Man daily draws to one of our
 " least Colleges: And is it possible that this
 " should lye hid in an inglorious obscurity, when
 " governed according to our Statutes, and con-
 " sequently filled with persons every way fit for
 " their respective stations?" Now this Dr. *Colbatch* was my particular Friend, and a person of great learning and regard to the severest discipline, and of the strictest virtue; tho' that virtue seemed to have somewhat of the *disagreeable*, as his Friend Dr. *Newton* of *Oxford's* virtue, seems to me to have somewhat that is peculiarly *agreeable*. Dr. *Colbatch* and I were hearty friends to Dr. *Bentley*, the Master of that College, for several years, while he appeared to act uprightly; but when he altered that his conduct, we were both of us forced to leave him: Nay the Doctor was at length so offended at his conduct, that he was at the head of a party in the College that prosecuted the Master in order to his expulsion, tho' to no Purpose. In which Prosecution he told me he had expended near 1000 *l*. He was Rector of *Orwell*, five Miles from *Cambridge*, and is lately dead, and has bequeathed his Library to the University of *Cambridge*, and settled a Charity School

at *Orwell* for twenty-five children for all generations. And so much I thought fit to add here concerning two of my friends in *Cambridge*, that highly deserved to be known to posterity, who otherwise, by not affecting to be writers themselves, might easily be forgotten. Nor will it be improper to add, that when I once asked Dr. *Colbatch*, who had lived some time in *Portugal*, as Chaplain to our Factory, or to our Consul, what it was that in such a grossly ignorant Popish Communion could preserve any serious religion? His Answer was, that some of the Popish Confessors were so honest, as to assure those that made confession to them, and received absolution from them, that unless they amended their lives, their absolutions would be of no advantage to them, which was highly for their commendation. Nor by the way did there want a Bishop in our time, who, as the News told us, persuaded the *French* Monarch himself, when he was in danger of death and was to receive the Extreme-Unction, to dismiss a famous Harlot of his upon the like principle; tho' I think that King, upon his recovery, took her again, and sent the Bishop away from the Court down to his Diocese for his pains; which was but too plain an indication that his repentance was not sincere in her former dismissal. May all Princes, Popish and Protestant, with their Courtiers and Nobility, learn this important Lesson, which will equally hold true of them as of the lowest of their Subjects and Inferiors. *Marriage is honourable in all, and the Bed undefiled; but Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge.*

*Out of the General Evening-Post, from Jan. 5th
to Jan. 7th, 1747-8.*

To the PRINTER.

S I R,

HAVING just seen Mr. *Carte's* History of *England*, I found the following remarkable story which he has laboriously introduced by way of Note, to *illustrate* his History a thousand years preceding. Speaking of the Unction of Kings, and the Gift of healing the Scrophulus Humour, called the King's Evil, exercised by some *European* Princes, anointed at their Coronations, and succeeding lineally to their Crowns by Proximity of Blood, he says: 'But whatever is to be said in favour of its being appropriated to the eldest Descendant of the first Branch of the royal Line of the Kings of *France, England, &c.* I have myself seen a remarkable instance of such a Cure, which could not possibly be ascribed to the real Unction.

'One *Christopher Lovel*, born at *Wells*, in *Somersetshire*, but when he grew up, residing in the city of *Bristol*, where he got his living by labour, was extremely afflicted for many years with that distemper, and such a flow of the scrophulous humour, that tho' it found a vent by five running sores, about his breast, neck and arms, there was such a tumour on one side of his neck, as left no hollow between his cheek and the upper part of his left shoulder, and forced him to keep his head always awry. The young man was reduced, by the virulence of the humour to the lowest state of weakness; appeared a miserable object in the eyes of all the inhabitants of that populous city; and having for many years tried all the remedies which the art of physic could administer,

minister, without receiving any benefit, resolved at last to go abroad to be touched. He had an uncle in the place, who was an old Seaman, and carried him from *Bristol* at the end of *August* 1746, along with him to *Cork* in *Ireland*; where he put him on board a ship that was bound to *St. Martin's*, in the isle of *Rhee*. From thence *Christopher* made his way first to *Paris*, and then to the place (*Avignon*) where he was touched in the beginning of *November* following, by the eldest lineal descendant of a race of Kings, who had indeed for a long succession of ages cured that distemper by the Royal Touch: But this Descendant, and next Heir of their Blood, had not, at least at that time, been either crowned or *anointed*. The usual effect however followed, from the moment that the man was touched and invested with the narrow Ribband, to which a small piece of Silver was pendant, according to the rites prescribed in the office appointed by the church for that solemnity, the Humour dispersed insensibly, his Sores healed up, and he recovered Strength daily, till he arrived in perfect Health, in the Beginning of *January* following, at *Bristol*, having spent only four months and some few days in his voyage. There it was, and in the week preceding *St. Paul's* fair, that I saw the man in his recovered vigour of body, without any remains of his complaint, but what were to be seen in the red scars then left upon the five places where the sharp humour had found a vent; but which were otherwise entirely healed, and as sound as any other part of his body. Dr. *Lane*, an eminent Physician in the place, whom I visited on my arrival, told me of this cure, as the most wonderful thing that had ever happened, and pressed me as well to see the man upon whom it was performed, as to talk about his case with Mr. *Samuel Pye*, a very skilful Surgeon,

and I believe still living in that city, who had tried in vain for three years to cure the man by physical remedies. I had an opportunity of doing both, and Mr. *Pye*, after dining together, carrying me to the man, I examined and informed myself fully of all particulars, relating as well to his illness as his cure, and found upon the whole, that if it is not to be deemed miraculous, it at least deserved the character given it by Dr. *Lane*, of being one of the most wonderful events that had ever happened. There are abundance of instances of the cure of the King's Evil by the touch of our *English* Princes in former times, mentioned by *Tucker*, in his book on that subject: And it is observable, that the Author, Mr. *Carte*, was himself an Infidel on that head, till convinced of his mistake by the late learned Mr. *Astis*, Garter King of Arms, who furnished him with those proofs out of the *English* Records, which attest the facts, and are printed in that treatise. But I am apt to think there never was an instance in which the distemper had prevailed to an higher degree, or the surprizing cure of it was known to such infinite multitudes of people, as in the cure of *Christopher Lovel*.

Transcribed by me WILL. WHISTON Jan. 15,
1747-8.

Out of the General Evening-Post, from Jan. 14th
to Jan. 16th, 1747-8.

Bristol, Jan. 13.

To the PRINTER.

S I R,

I Observed in your paper of the seventh instant, a quotation from Mr. *Carte's History of England*, of one *Christopher Lovel*, of this city, whom the Author affirms he saw after he had been cured of
an

an inveterate King's Evil, by the Touch of a certain R——l hand, when the skill of the most able physician and surgeon, he had employed before had proved ineffectual, and was indeed surprized to see such an idle J——te tale calculated to support the old thread-bare notion of the divine hereditary right of a certain house; which notion I thought had been long exploded by men of sense, and existed nowhere but in the brains of Popish enthusiasts, and credulous bigots.

The illustrious Royal Family now on the throne despise such childish delusions, such little pious frauds, to prove their divine right to the crown. They act upon noble principles; they want no chicanry to support their throne; they profess an honest open plainness in all their public actions; the hearts and affections of their subjects they depend upon for protecting them on their throne, which they cannot fail of by protecting their subjects in the full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights and liberties: Whereas, Jesuits and Popish emissaries make use of frauds, and pretended miracles, and authority from Heaven, to support arbitrary princes on their thrones, in order to enslave their innocent credulous subjects.

I have made a faithful enquiry into the story of this *Christopher Lovel*, and shall endeavour to prove the fallacy of it, by setting this wonderful event in an honest and fair light.

'Tis acknowledged that the rumour of this remarkable cure made a great noise in this city, among the ignorant and disaffected; great numbers visited the patient, to be convinced of the truth of this miracle; who greedily swallowed the delusion, as the doctrine of divine hereditary right had been industriously propagated for some years before, to prejudice the minds of the people against the succession of the present Royal Family.

Every

Every Physician and Surgeon well know, that high scorbutic ulcers will accidentally cicatrice, and dry up, and afterwards break out in other parts of the body from unknown causes. But I will account for this cure in a natural way. Physicians and Surgeons all agree, that change of air, and diet, with a long course of exercise are the most probable means of removing and curing all chronic disorders. All these *Lovel* must necessarily have had from *St. Martins* in *France*, to *Avignon*, and back again to *England*. Every day, nay every hour he travelled, he must imbibe new columns of air: His food, which before was beef, pork, and such sort of course scorbutic diet was thin light soups, and vegetables. His drink at home was generally a large draught of ale, and spirituous liquors: Whereas aboard it was water, or perhaps sometimes a little wine. This alteration of diet, with daily exercise, must doubtless have a salutary influence upon his disease.

When he had been touched by the P——r, at *Avignon*, he was immediately put under the care of Physicians and Surgeons, who used their art upon him, imagining the latter more efficacious than the former. After near five months absence, he returned to *Bristol*, and declared himself healed by the touch. But alas! his cure lasted but a short time; his sores broke out in many other parts of his body with violence: So he returned into *France* again, in hopes of the same success: But the poor wretch never reached *Avignon*, but died miserably upon the road. This, upon my reputation, is the best history I can gain of this tremendous miracle in *Mr. Carte*, which can be well attested if required.

It is granted that this *Lovel* was in appearance cured of the King's Evil; but then this cure was only temporary. That the short interval of health

health was not owing to any R——l Touch, or Charm, or any supernatural case, but to perfect natural means merely adventitious.

In the neighbourhood where he lived and worked as a labourer, (to turn the wheel for the pewterers) he had a very ill character in his morals; but of great pretended orthodoxy, and the divine hereditary right of an abjured family.

Can any man with a grain of reason, believe that such an idle superstitious charm, as the touch of a man's hand, can convey a virtue sufficiently efficacious to heal so stubborn a chronic disorder, as an ulcerated inveterate King's Evil?

As I have given you a faithful narrative of this J——te miracle, if you think it worth inserting in your paper it may be a means of convincing many of your readers of the folly of crediting tales, and visionary fables, which historians abound in.

Transcribed by me WILL. WHISTON, Jan. 18,
1747-8.

AMICUS VERITATIS.

*Out of the General Evening-Post, from Feb. 20th,
to Feb. 23d, 1747-8.*

To the PRINTER.

S I R,

WHEN I published my History, I did not doubt but a shoal of anonymous Writers, would be nibbling at some particular passages in it; and in defect of something more material would attack any small incident even in the notes, though not inserted in the body of the work.

It

It is the duty of an Historian to give an account of every institution when it comes to take place in a kingdom; and I have discharged that duty so far as I have gone (I would fain hope) to the satisfaction of the Reader. This obliged me to make a short *Discourse* on the *Unction* of Kings, and to take notice of the extravagant effects ascribed to that *Unction*. The Sanative Virtue of touching for the King's Evil, being one of those effects, the relation of *Christopher Lovel* was inserted in a note, to shew it was erroneously ascribed to the *Unction*. It was put there with no other view, than to refute that notion; and without any design of publishing it: But the *Note* (perhaps for want of a mark, directing it should not be copied, as I used in some other cases) being transcribed together with the *Discourse*, for the Press, I did not, when the proof sheet was sent me, strike it out; observing nothing in it that could reasonably give offence, were it not for the comments of malevolent people; for the person touching is not named, and what is said of him agrees to more than one person.

I have not in that discourse delivered my own opinion on the subject; contenting myself with relating those mentioned by *W. of Malmesbury*. Several curious and knowing persons have wrote upon it, particularly *Dr. Tooker*, a Divine, and *Mr. John Brown*, Surgeon to King *Charles the IIId.* The Book of the former being published *A. D.* 1597, under the title of *Charisma*, that of the latter *A. D.* 1684, under the title of *Charisma Basilicon*. I have not seen *Tucker*, or *Tooker's* book these thirty years, so long it is since the relation I quoted thence was copied. I have transcribed others very remarkable (particularly the cure of a *German*, who had been thirteen months his patient, by the Royal Touch) from
Clows,

Clows, an experienced Surgeon, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, who published *A. D.* 1602, a treatise of the *Artificial Cure* of that distemper; though he owns throughout it, that the Queen's Touch was the only infallible remedy. But though I have not these books by me, nor a thousand others from which I have extracted passages, I think I may fairly make use of my own transcripts. The late learned Mr. *Anstis*, in the twenty-sixth page of a MS. discourse on *Coronations*, which he left at his death unfinished, hath these words :

“ The Miraculous Gift in curing this distemper, [the King's Evil] by the Royal Touch of our Kings, as well as of the *French King*, is undeniable;” and in p. 49 taking notice of his having convinced a Surgeon of the antiquity of our Kings touching by several citations, he adds that he [the Surgeon] published these citations; and therefore I refer you [*i. e.* his son, the present garter, to whom the discourse is address'd] to that pamphlet. I passed some days with him, at *Mortlake*, about twenty-six years ago, when a pamphlet wrote by a Surgeon about the King's Evil, was advertis'd in the News-Paper, and had a good deal of discourse with him on the subject; and by what was then said, I am persuaded that Mr. *Becket's enquiry into the antiquity and efficacy of touching for the King's Evil*, printed in 8vo. *A. D.* 1722 (according to the Bookfeller's Stile, who begin their year even before *Christmas*) was the pamphlet in question. But I never saw it, and had intirely forgot the name of the Surgeon: When having Mr. *Anstis's* Discourse abovementioned before me, and consulting a learned gentleman (who had studied physic above forty years, and transcribed my note for the Press) about the name of the Surgeon referred to by Mr. *Anstis*; it was either by his opinion or my own inadvertance
that

that I put down *Tucker* for the name of that Surgeon. I have endeavoured to find out this pamphlet, but in vain. The present Mr. *Anstis* hath neither that or any other treatise on the subject in his library. Whoever hath it may observe by the records cited in it, (especially if the *Account of the Household* in the 6th of *Edward I.* which there is scarce a man in *England* besides the late Mr. *Anstis* hath ever look'd into, be cited for the cure of 182 persons of the King's Evil by that Prince) whether the author be the Surgeon to whose book he refers. After all, whether the Surgeon's name be *Tucker*, or *Becket*, or any other is a matter of very little consequence.

Deans Yard, Feb. 13, 1748.

Yours, THO. CARTE.

Transcribed by me *Will. Whiston*, Feb. 24, 1747-8.

N. B. What remarkable facts we have well attested of the cure of the King's Evil by the touch of one or two old families in *Europe*, and is supposed to be a kind of miraculous operation, done by those and only those families, of which already, seems to me to be a great mistake, and to be rather a remains of the old healing of the Sick by the anointing them with the Holy Oil, or in the want of such Oil, by the prayers and imposition of the hands of Presbyters, in *St. Mark*. *St. James*, and the Apostolical Constitutions, of which in part already. For though the Kings or Queens stroke the part affected, which is called the Imposition of Hands, and ought probably to be done by Presbyters, and charitably bestow the gold and silver pieces, and put them about the necks of the patients, while they are on their knees

knees in the posture of Prayer ; yet are the Prayers themselves, and the Benediction, pronounced only by the Chaplains in waiting, who are always Presbyters. See the Form of *Healing* in the Common Prayer Books, printed in the reign of Queen *Anne*, who used to touch for the Evil ; though I think that neither King *William*, nor Queen *Mary*, nor King *George* the First or Second have ever done it ; while yet I suppose they might have done it with the like success as our former Kings, and even Queen *Elizabeth* herself had done it before. Mr. *Carte*, in the first volume of his history, lately published, book IV. p. 291, has given us so extraordinary an history of the healing of one *Christopher Lovel*, of *Bristol*, in the year 1716, just now set down ; as did Mr. *Bates*, the King's famous Surgeon in my hearing, do the like in another instance many years ago, that I cannot but think this matter deserves a more serious and exact consideration and examination than it has of late met with, while it ought always to be impartially taken notice of, in what cases and circumstances, and how far this Touch has been effectual, and when, as well as how far it has failed. For that it has by God's Blessing frequently healed the patients, at least in part, and for some time, is I believe absolutely undeniable ; nor is it, I presume, pretended that it has never failed of its effect. But of this Royal Touch, see Dr. *Tucker's* book on that subject, and Mr. *Fuller's* Church History, pretty largely, under *Edward the Confessor*, Cent. VI. p. 145—148.

As to any plea for the Title of Royal Families, from the success of this Touch, I know nothing of it : Nor can I find in the Sacred Writings, any other divine right they have, but the choice and recognition of the people. Nor by
confe-

consequence can I find any other rightful and lawful King of *Great-Britain*, than our present King *George II.* See my *Scripture Politicks* throughout.

The Form of the Healing in Queen Anne's Time.

PRevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious Favour, and further us with thy continual Help; that in all our Works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name, and finally by thy Mercy obtain everlasting Life, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord. *Amen.*

The Holy Gospel is written in the 16th Chapter of St. Mark, beginning at the 14th Verse.

Jesus appeared to the Eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them of their Unbelief and Hardness of Heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damn'd. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name they shall cast out Devils; they shall speak with new Tongues, they shall take up Serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: *They shall lay their hands on the Sick, and they shall recover:* So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into Heaven, and sat on the Right-hand of God: And they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.

Let

Let us pray.

Lord have Mercy upon us.

Christ have Mercy upon us.

Lord have Mercy upon us.

Our Father, &c. with the Doxology, and
Amen.

Then shall the infirm persons, one by one, be presented to the Queen, upon their knees; and as every one is presented, and when the Queen is laying her hands upon them, and putting the gold about their necks, the Chaplain that officiates, turning himself to her Majesty, shall say these words following.

God give a blessing to this work; and grant that *these sick persons*, on whom the Queen *lays* her hands, may recover, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord.

After all have been presented, the Chaplain shall say,

Vers. O Lord save thy servants,

Resp. *Who put their trust in thee:*

Vers. Send them help from thy Holy Place,

Resp. *And evermore mightily defend them:*

Vers. Help us, O God of our Salvation,

Resp. *And for the glory of thy Name deliver us; and be merciful to us sinners, for thy Name's Sake:*

Vers. O Lord hear our Prayers;

Resp. *And let our cry come unto thee.*

These answers are to be made by them that come to be healed.

Let us Pray.

O Almighty God, who art the giver of all health, and the aid of them that seek to thee for succour,

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we call upon thee for thy help and goodness, mercifully to be shewed upon these thy servants; that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks unto thee in thy Holy Church, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord, *Amen*.

Then the Chaplain, standing with his face towards them that come to be healed, shall say.

The Almighty Lord, who is a strong tower to all them that put their trust in him, to whom all things in Heaven, in Earth, and under the Earth do bow and obey; be now and evermore your defence, and make you know and feel, that there is none other name under Heaven given to man, in whom, and through whom, you may receive Health and Salvation, but only the name of our Lord, *Jesus Christ, Amen*.

The Grace of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; and the Love of God; and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore, *Amen*.

N. B. It appears by Mr. *Fuller*, that the Gospel in his days was the first nine verses of St. *John's* Gospel; and that the King or Queen made the sign of the Cross upon the sore, in the imposition of hands.

Lyndon, Jan. 20, 1747.

WILL. WHISTON.

Calvisius from *Vasæus*, at *A. D.* 672, and 680, speaks of *Bamba*, a very religious *Gothick* King in *Spain*, ‘ that when *Ervigius* had infused ‘ poison into his food which quite took away his ‘ memory, and brought him into such a distemper, that he seemed to be giving up the Ghost, ‘ the

‘ the Bishop offered him the sacrament of extreme unction. But when he was recovered, and made acquainted with the offer he had had of the sacrament, he utterly renounced his kingdom, and the world, and retired into a monastrey.’

Mr. *Grantham*, in his *Christianismus Primitivus*, page 38, 39, upon *James* v. 14. says, ‘ The gift of healing is not wholly taken away: If we dare believe our eyes, or the persons who have been restored to health very suddenly, at the earnest prayer of faithful men, and oftentimes in the use of that ordinance, *James* v. 14——18. The truth is, that miracles are rarely found; yet from what my eyes have seen, and from what I have heard by report, from some whom Charity will not suffer me to think, would affirm an untruth, I may not say (as some) that they are not at all to be found, &c.’

I shall add one very remarkable passage, in Mr. *Fuller*’s Church History, page 146. “ Nor will it be amiss here to relate a passage, which happened about the midst of the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, after Pope *Pius* did let fly his excommunication against her. There was a stiff *Roman Catholic*, (as they delight to term themselves) otherwise a man well accomplished, and of an ingenuous disposition, who being cast into prison (I conceive for his religion) was there visited in a high degree with the King’s Evil; and having, with great pain and expence, but no success, long used the advice of physicians, at last he humbly address’d himself to the Queen’s Majesty; by whom, with God’s help he was compleatly cured. And being demanded what news? I perceive, said he, now at last by plain experience, that the excommunication denounced

“ by the Pope, against her Majesty, is in very
 “ deed of none effect ; seeing God hath blessed
 “ her with so great and miraculous a virtue. For
 “ which relation Mr. *Fuller* quotes *Tucker*, in
 “ *Charismate*, cap. 6, page 92.”

WILL. WHISTON.

Now when I discoursed with that eminent Baptist Mr. *Grantbam Killingworth*, about this matter, he was thoroughly satisfied of the success of this holy unction, and told me, that some of those cures were so remarkable, that a memorial of them was put on a gravestone of a Baptist that had cured several by the same unction.

I also *William Whiston* have enquired of our own Elder or Presbyter, Mr. *Matthew Stanger*, whose elder brother, Mr. *William Stanger*, was that Baptist Bishop, or messenger, that anointed a sick woman at *Isbam*, near *Kettering*, when he was present and joined in the prayers ; though without faith in the operation himself, which woman recovered. The same Mr. *Matthew Stanger* assures me, that his mother, when she was alive, used to tell him, that this anointing was more frequent among the Baptists formerly than it has been of late. I have also been informed, by Mr. *Copper*, an acquaintance of Mr. *Killingworth's*, and the present Baptist Bishop, or messenger, at *Tunbridge-Wells*, that he had been himself with other Baptist Bishops, or messengers concern'd in the anointing one under an *ill tangle*, as he called it ; which I suppose to be the same distemper, with what the Apostles would have called *Dæmoniacal Madnefs* : While after a first and second failure it was found a sort of magic ceremonies or conjurations had been used by some people for the cure. But when those wicked methods had

had been detected, and laid aside, the cure was perfected. Our Bishop or Messenger Mr. Goode, also writes to me thus.

Rev. S I.R,

According to your request I made some farther inquiry into the circumstance you asked me of, relating to the institution of anointing with Oil, according to St. *James*, chap. v. ver. 14, 15, 16, though time has eras'd some things out of the minds of those who were either eye or ear witnesses, yet that which they remember, very much agrees with that which I formerly received from several persons of great credit. According to the accounts I have received, Mr. *Thomas Lovel*, a Presbyter of the Baptist Church of *Weston*, in the parish of *Weedon* in the county of *Northampton*, some time about the year 1720, was very ill of a pleuretic fever, and had the late Mr. *Hodges*, apothecary in *Tocester* to administer physic to him; he declared that, if his illness returned, he could not live to survive it; and immediately went to bed in the next room to that where Mr. *Lovel* lay. There was at the same time in the house Mr. *John Britain*, a Presbyter of the Baptist Church at *Stony Stratford*, in *Buckinghamshire*, who came to visit him. Mr. *Lovel's* illness returned in the night, with a violent pain in one of his sides, and perceiving the approaches of death to draw near, exercised faith in his institution, and desired Mr. *Britain* to be called up, who was in bed in another room, to administer it to him. He arose, and after asking him some questions relating to his faith, and other qualifications, administered it: And immediately his great pain abated, and he was quickly restored to health. I have been also informed, that Mr.

Hodges who heard the service performed, declared in the morning, that if God had not heard these Prayers, he must inevitably have died immediately; and that he could raise a man up by such religious means, when all the arts of men failed.

Secondly, *Mrs. Boddington* of *Asker*, in *Warwickshire*, was under a long and great illness some time, about thirty years ago. She was a member of the general Baptist Church, professing the Baptism of the Adult by immersion, meeting in *West-Orchard* in *Coventry*, and sent for *Mr. John Eld*, who was then a Presbyter in the same Church, (but afterwards ordained a Bishop.) He went to visit her: She desired to have the anointing with Oil administered to her, in the name of the Lord. Which he, after being satisfied that she had competent qualifications, administered; and it was attended with so good effects, that she, who before was not able to help herself in scarce any degree, raised herself up in a few minutes, and in a few hours dressed herself, walked about the room, and went into the other parts of the house, to the admiration of all her family and acquaintance.

Thirdly, Circumstance was relating to *Stephen Matthews* of *Killingworth*, who was a member of the same Church in *West-Orchard*; he was under great affliction about the time above mentioned, which seized his body, and lay very heavy upon him, for six or seven years; until he, for a considerable time, became like a skeleton, and could not get out of bed. He sent for *Mr. Eld*, and for *Mr. Samuel Welton*, who was a Presbyter in the same congregation, and after he, in their apprehensions, declared a true repentance for all his past sins, and a great desire of living up to the rectitude of the Gospel, desired to be anointed with Oil, according to *St. James*, chap. v.

Ec. they administered it to him, after all other means he made use of had no effect; and he was, in a very little time, raised up to be able to go to *Coventry*, which is four miles, which he frequently did afterwards, and to labour for his support.

Fourthly, The late Mr. *Samuel Paxton*, of *Northampton*, was some years ago very ill for a long time; he was anointed with oil by the late Mr. *William Stanger*, who was a bishop or messenger in that neighbourhood, and was immediately restored to health. At another time, which was a little before his death, when he was in his last illness, and did not expect to recover, he had it again administered for the good of his soul, and received greater peace of mind, and more perfect assurance of a future happiness. I have also been informed by men of undeniable credit, that the late Mr. *Thomas Garrett*, who lived in *Spratton*, in *Northamptonshire*, and preceded Mr. *William Stanger*, in the office of a bishop, often administered the anointing with oil, as well as many other bishops or presbyters of the general baptist persuasion, both in this and those counties, in, and since his time, with great success. Some people were immediately raised up from sickness to health; others restored gradually; many had greater reason to believe they had obtained the forgiveness of their sins, were raised up in their souls, and had better assurance of eternal life.

From the whole Mr. *Goode* observes two Things:

First, Though many of our people have believed this institution to be a great duty still to be practised in the Christian church, on those that are qualified and desire it: Nevertheless they have also made a wide difference between this appointment and the Papists sacramental

doctrine of extreme unction: Which doctrine they have always protested against, because they have not believed that this anointing will infuse grace; but will only be beneficial, as it is performed and received by a strong faith in God and our Lord Jesus Christ; through a true repentance, and sincere desires of universal obedience and holiness, &c. for the raising people up from sickness to health, after all outward means fail, if the ultimate line of life is not near expired; and in being instrumental by, and through these qualifications, to obtain great benefits for their souls.

Secondly, I have not heard that it hath been administered to any but such as have been, or are in communion with some of our churches; and in some measure judged to have been competently qualified, according to the apostle *James's* directions, &c.

Boston, Lincolnshire, July 1, 1747.

A transcript from the life of Mr. *Handford Knollys*, written by himself, in the year 1679, continued by Mr. *William Kiffin*.

He being imprisoned for his religion, added, Soon after I was set at liberty, at the Sessions in the *Old Baily*, God made me his prisoner, by a sharp and painful distemper in my bowels, called the griping of the guts; and he brought me near to my grave. But in time of my greatest extremity, God remembered mercy, and restored my life from death. No tongue can express my pains; yet God gave me much patience; wherein I possess'd my soul.—Two learned, well practised, and judicious doctors of physic had daily visited me, and consulted my cure several days together, and I was fully persuaded that they did what possibly

sibly they could to affect a cure, and knew also that God did not succeed their honest and faithful endeavours with his blessing; although God had given a signal and singular testimony of his special blessing by each of them, unto others of their patients, at least sixteen at the same time. I resolved to take no more physic; but would apply that holy ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, the great Physician of value, *James v. 14, 15.* and I got Mr. *Kiffin* and Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, who prayed over me, and anointed me with Oil, in the name of the Lord, and the Lord did hear Prayer, and heal me.

Transcribed *April 22, 1748*, by me *John Goode*.

P. S. The above was wrote either in the year 1670 or 1671.

Mr. *Knollys* died, *September 19, 1691.*

N. B. Mr. *Goode* informs me farther, that Mr. *Charles Doe* wrote a Book, in which there is an account of the cures by anointing with Oil, which we have not yet been able to recover. He also wrote a small book about Baptisin.

N. B. I have been very lately informed, that King *William* was prevailed upon once to touch for the king's evil; *praying God to heal the patient, and grant him more wisdom at the same time*; which implied he had no great Faith in the Operation. Yet was the patient cured notwithstanding.

Our Messenger, Mr. *Goode*, in a letter to me, dated at *Boston, April 22, 1749*, writes thus:

I believe I can give some further accounts of some who received much benefit by the ordinance of anointing with oil.

Mr.

Mr. *John Lee* of *Spratton* in *Northamptonshire*, was under a very great illness for a considerable time; so that he was thought to be dangerous. He refused to make use of any physicians; but sent for Mr. *William Stanger*, our Messenger, who anointed him with oil in the Name of the Lord, in the presence of one of our ministers, who gave me this account, and he soon recovered, and lived some years after. The same Mr. *Lee*, who was a presbyter of the church, professing the baptism of the adult by immersion, meeting at *Spratton*, and in other places, anointed an aged woman of that congregation; at which services I joined in prayer: She was so very weak that I did not think she would recover, but contrary to my expectations, was raised up to perfect health, and survived Mr. *Lee*. The first of these services was performed before 1740, and the other a little after that year.

I have also been informed by the late Mr. *Lee*, that the late Mr. *William Stanger*, jointly with himself, anointed the late Mr. *William Paxton* of *Northampton*, after they had jointly kept a day in fasting and prayer upon this account, when he was dangerously ill, and after he had laid aside the use of physicians; and he was raised up to a perfect state of health.

I have also been assured, that Mr. *Hooke*, late of *Lincoln*, a messenger, some time between the years 1722 and 1727, anointed the late Mr. *Leonard Isaac*, who lived at *Cunsby* in this county [of *Lincoln*], when he was dangerously ill, and he recovered. This account I received from his widow.

I have been a spectator of many when they came under this Ordinance, and I believe they generally recovered.

I shall now add a Letter to the same purpose from Mr. *Bond*, a baptist minister, of the *Devizes* in *Wiltshire*.

Rev. S I R,

According to your request I shall give you this following account. The Rev. Mr. *Drinkwater*, messenger and minister of the baptist church at *Chichester*, in the county of *Sussex*, gave me this following account. A woman that was a member of his congregation had a daughter that was troubled with fits, to that degree, that they confined her to her bed, and had several in one day, and rendered her incapable of any business. The said mother desired Mr. *Drinkwater* to come to her daughter, in order to anoint her with oil, in the Name of the Lord, which he did. And after the anointing, while they were in prayer for her, these words came into his mind, *In the Name of the Lord, arise and walk*; but fearing it would be too great presumption, he omitted it in the prayer, but continued in the duty till it returned a second and third time; then he took her by the hand and said, *In the Name of the Lord Jesus, arise and walk*: And she came out of the bed immediately and was well; as Mr. *Drinkwater* told me.

There was a minister and elder of his congregation that was not satisfied in the practice of anointing with oil, and could not have faith in it, unless he could see a miracle wrought by it. He lived in or near *Chichester*, and had never been at *London*. He had two brothers that lived at *Islington*; one a housekeeper, the other a lodger; and once in the night he dreamed, that there was a near and dear friend of his that lived near *London*, then under a distemper that threatened death: It was a fever, and the doctor had given him over. But that the said friend was desirous of some sweetmeats, and that would make him well: but the said sweetmeats could not be had, but in the Bo-
rough

rough [of *Southwark*], and before they could be procured, he would be dead. This was the subject of his dream. When he awaked it left a great impression upon his mind : But before he got up, a messenger came from *Islington*, with this news, that his brother was near death, and given over by the doctors ; desiring him to go to him with all speed. When he came thither, his brother was thought to be near death, and he and his other brother walked in his garden, consulting about the manner of his burial : But when they came in, he was sensible, and was greatly desirous to be anointed ; but none could be found that did practise the same, but Mr. *Richardson*, a messenger of the baptists, that lived in the *Borough*, and he could not be had at that time. Then the friends of the sick man desired the said minister to anoint him ; and in the extremity of the case he did ; and whilst he was praying for him, he came out of the bed immediately, and was well. Now this sick man was under the censure of the church for some disorder of life, for which he declared his repentance.

Mr. *Benjamin Miller*, messenger and elder of a baptist's congregation at *Downton*, near *Sarum*, in *Wiltshire*, told me, that as he came once to *Bristol* on *Saturday* night, there was one Mrs. *Stagg* of *Bedminster*, one mile from *Bristol*, that was on a bed of weakness, near unto death : She sent for the said Mr. *Miller*, in order to anoint her with oil, in the Name of the Lord, the next morning : He went ; but when he came she was almost speechless, and it was thought she was dying, but sensible, and by signs shewed her desire of being anointed ; which he did, and in a few minutes she spake, and said she was better. Soon after she added, she would get up ; and sending Mr. *Miller* out of the chamber, she got up and went to *Bristol* that day in the afternoon, and received the sacrament

ment that day. Then she invited her friends to come and dine with her the next day. But when they came she was strip'd of her gown, and was cook and dressed the dinner.

In the year 1740, Mr. *Samuel Fly*, elder of the baptist church at *Horsley-down, London*, was under a rheumatic disorder in its extremity; whom I went to see in his illness. He said to the doctor, and his friends, that he was willing to be anointed in the Name of the Lord. But the doctor not knowing the nature of it, thought he was delirious; and Mrs. *Killingworth* brought a bottle of something in, that she thought would do him good, but his Stomach was so weak that he could not take it. Then she cried, saying, If he did well she would say, that miracles were not ceased. On the Lord's day following Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Cornthwait* preached for him; and that day anointed him with oil, in the name of the Lord. And the next day he could walk about his chamber with ease, and soon went abroad, whom I saw soon after his Recovery.

Witness my Hand,

WILLIAM BOND.

The aforesaid Mrs. *Stagg* was anointed once before at *Taunton*, for a quinsy in her throat, and was cured.

A Copy of a Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland, dated February 29, 1747-8. Out of the Gentleman's Magazine for March 1748. pag. 136.

WE have had some extraordinary events in our neighbourhood, which can't as yet be accounted for. On *January 25*, the river *Teviot*, for two miles before it joins the *Tweed*, stopped its current, and its channel became dry, leaving fishes,

fishes, &c. on dry ground, many of which were taken up by the country people, and sold at *Longtown*, and other places. It continued in this condition for the space of nine hours; and when it began to resume its course, it began gradually, till it ran as usual again; but in no greater quantity from its stopping, as might be expected. How to account for this phænomenon we know not; for there are no mines of any sort, or any other cavity in the whole country. And if the waters had been stop'd by any rising of that part of the ground by an earthquake, they would have been heaping up in such quantities in a minute's time, that upon the ground's descending, the whole country must have been overflow'd.—On *February* 19, the river *Kirtle* was dry for six hours, leaving fishes, &c. at the bottom. This alarmed the whole country; insomuch that *Sir William Maxwell*, who lives within 500 yards of it, and many rode with him along the banks of the river, and saw it dry for seven miles, but could not find out the cause of the water's stopping. And on *February* 23 the river *Eske* itself stopped its course, and the channel was quite dry (except some deep holes where the water could not get out) for the space of six hours, to the admiration of the whole country, the more so because this large river is as rapid as most in *England*. See a solution of these wonders in the same Magazine for *April*, 1748, pag. 142. But see rather 4 *Esd.* vi. 24. *The veins of the foundations shall stand still, and shall not run for the space of three hours.*

As to the famous woman who brought forth monsters in *Surrey*, above 20 years ago, if the fact was real: And as to the strange gigantic boy at *Willingham*, near *Cambridge*, much later, history is undoubtedly real, in *Transact. Philos.* No. 475.

See

See 4 *Esd.* v. 8. *Monstrous women shall bring forth monsters*, or in the *Arabic* copy, *There shall be signs in the women*. See also vi. 21.

I conclude with this additional reflection, that as it was the horrible *Athanasian Creed* that directly brought me to the Baptists, so should I think it one good step towards the Church of *England's* admission of Primitive Christianity, if her Archbishops and Bishops would but leave off the use of that Creed in their own Chapels; and thereby recommend its omission to all their subordinate Clergy.

London, November 15, 1747.

WILL. WHISTON.

The Copy of a Letter that came to me on Sunday, August 24th, 1746, being St. Bartholomew's-Day, at Tunbridge-Wells.

Rev'd. S I R,

THOU' I am an entire stranger to you, yet I flatter myself the importance of the subject will excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing you in this manner. The reason of which, without preface is as follows.

'Tis now about eight years since I accidentally happen'd to meet with your *Historical Preface*. I must own, at my first perusing it, I was vastly surprized to find propositions so contrary to those generally held as orthodox. I had been brought up in the Church of *England*, and attended divine Service (as I believe many others do) without so much as once examining the truth or falsehood of those principles I had been educated in. But the reading your book soon gave me a happier

pier way of thinking, and put me upon a more strict enquiry. I afterwards procured your *Primitive Christianity*: A work for which the whole Protestant Church, in my opinion, is under the greatest obligation to you: It being collected with that care and fidelity, that to an ingenuous mind, it must certainly appear convincing and unanswerable, as to the doctrine therein contained. But to return, I then perused Dr. Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and Mr. Emlyn's *Traacts*; two excellent writers in the same glorious cause; and both recommended by you in your other writings. In short, I was fully convinced of this grand fundamental truth, that the *Father alone*, exclusive of all other Beings and persons whatsoever, was *the most high God*. Or in other words, the *only God* of the Christian Religion. A doctrine evidently taught by our blessed Saviour and his Apostles. Thus far all was right, 'till reading the authors who wrote on the other side of the question, I was somewhat perplex'd; not on account of those opinions I had embraced, but in regard of the legality of continuing a member of the Church: From which I find the pretended orthodox were for excluding the poor *Arians*. Among many others, I shall just mention one or two, which seem applicable to the present purpose. The author of a pamphlet called *several hundred texts to prove our Saviour to be the most high God*; (a character I am sure he never laid the least claim to, but always attributed it to his father :) This author, I say, has these words, "If any deny the eternal deity of our Saviour, they exclude themselves from all Christian assemblies, &c. It must be gross hypocrisy and prevarication in such to be present, so much as occasionally, at the liturgy of the Church of *England*; where all the offices either suppose the divinity of our Saviour, or plainly declare

“clare it.” Another writer, in an *Address to the conforming Arians*, both among the Clergy and Laity, “accuses them of the vilest hypocrisy, in being present at Prayers and Creeds which they profess not to believe: And absolutely insisting on it, as their indispensable duty, to separate from the Church. And affirms that a Protestant might as well conform with the Papists, or a Christian with a Mahometan, as an Unitarian with the Orthodox. And by no means admits that salvo, *viz.* Their not repeating those prayers or passages in the liturgy which, in their opinion, are blasphemous, and derogatory to the supreme unequall’d majesty of God the Father.” Now as hypocrisy is undoubtedly a sin odious to God and man, I, with many others should take it as a singular favour, if in some of your future writings, you would discuss this important question, *viz.* With what Church or Sect the *Arians* in this present corrupted state of things ought to communicate, till it pleases God more compleatly to reform the Christian world? Whether with that established, or whether he ought to separate, and go over to the Dissenters? As many *Arian* ministers are supposed to be amongst them. Now had the *Unitarians* the liberty of public assemblies, and a ministry of their own, the point would easily then be determined. To speak the truth, I think their case a little hard; for while all sects and opinions are tolerated, even idolatrous Papists, and infidel *Jews*, they alone are denied this happy privilege, which so many good men wish for. Before I conclude, I beg leave to mention a passage I lately met with, in a modern writer, relative to the matter in hand. The ingenious author observes, “That in points speculative, a man ought not to be too rigid. Nothing he says, is more common now-a-days, than

“ than to see those who strictly believe the divine
 “ unity, communicating with those who firmly
 “ assert the truth of the *Athanasian* principles.
 “ The difference of opinion hindering not, that
 “ both might with equal piety receive the memo-
 “ rials of their Saviour’s death.” However, as
 soon as you have an opportunity, the settling
 of this point would confer the greatest obligation on

Revd. S I R,

Your very humble Servant,

Though unknown.

P. S. It would I fear be but at best impertinent to advise you how or in what manner to discuss this matter : Whether in one of the *Magazines*, or in a distinct *Treatise*, which I fear will never answer. I cannot however help thinking, you have a fair opportunity in your *Connection of Sacred and Prophane History*, now publishing. I find you intend in that useful work to intermix several dissertations. Amongst which, when you come to treat of the times of *Constantine the Great*, I fancy that now-desired might aptly and happily be placed.

Although I have before, in the *Memoirs of my Life*, pleaded some excuses for myself, while I have so long communicated with the Church of *England*, even in the Eucharist itself, notwithstanding my open dissent from several parts of her worship, nay my open disclaiming to join in any thing wherein my conscience would not permit it, as is abovesaid ; nay altho’ I have since the receipt of the foregoing remarkable

ble letter at *Tunbridge Wells* (which I own to have greatly affected me) once ventured to receive that holy communion from Mr. *Harrison*, at St. *George's Church, Queen's Square, London*; though I went out of the Church during his reading the *Athanasian Creed* at the same time: And had indeed, I believe, ventur'd to receive the same of Mr. *Belgrave* on *Christmas-day* last here at *Lyndon*, after the like absenting myself during his reading of the same Creed, had I then been well enough to go to Church on that day, as I was not; yet, upon mature deliberation since that time, I do not think I shall easily satisfy myself to do so any more. I mean if he that officiates is a reader of the horrible *Athanasian Creed*, and by consequence frequently and solemnly pronounces me, and the rest of the *Eusebians*, or primitive Christians, *accursed*. For this curse extends to every one of us who does not keep the grossest part of the *Athanasian* heresy “ whole and undefiled, that without doubt we “ shall perish everlastingly: That he who will be “ saved must think as do the *Athanasians*, of the “ Trinity: That it is necessary to everlasting “ salvation that we also believe, as do the *Athanasians* of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus “ Christ: And that, this is the Catholic Faith, “ which except a man believe faithfully he can- “ not be saved.” How is it possible for a serious Clergyman, after such bitter cursing of all the *Eusebians*, to give any of them, who are known to be such, the holy elements, the most sacred tokens of Christian friendship, and the most solemn pledges of the divine favour, that this world can afford, is to me wholly unaccountable. This seems too near what the Apostle *Paul*, *Heb. vi. 5, 6*, calls *Crucifying the Son of God a-fresh, and putting him to an open shame*, and deems there the most dismal mark of reprobation. This is too near,

on both sides, to being *guilty of the Body and Blood of our Lord*, 1 Cor. xi. 17. At least it is too near to ridiculing holy things, and pouring contempt upon Christ's divine religion, to be any longer endured in any society that call themselves Christians: Let the legal obligations to such a vile practice be never so undeniable. *Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto men more than to God, judge ye. Acts iv. 19.* Nay if any serious Clergyman knows any of his flock to be in so dreadful a state, as these curses suppose, he ought to admonish him first alone; and if he will not *bear him*, to do it before *two or three witnesses*; and if he will not *bear them* to tell it to the Church, in order to his exclusion from its communion, especially in the Eucharist. Nor so far as I can judge, ought any serious *Eusebian*, or primitive Christian, such as I own myself to be, especially if he be also a Clergyman himself, as I am, to receive the communion from such an *Athanasian*, who thus frequently and solemnly, though most unjustly, pronounces him *accursed*, and in a *state of damnation*. I do not mean that such a Clergyman's private opinion, or even public profession of what I call the *Athanasian Heresy*, though its defence be now clearly abandoned by all the learned here (as it is, I have great reason to believe, sinking apace out of the Christian World) requires such a refusal: But I mean that by thus cursing the *Eusebians* or primitive Christians, he renders himself, by the laws of Christianity, absolutely unfit for and unworthy of celebrating the holy communion, and giving it to the *faithful*: How inclinable soever I may be to hope, that such a Clergyman may not be absolutely unfit for or unworthy of performing the other sacred offices, such I mean at which of old *Heathens*, as well as *Jews* and *Catechumens* were allowed to be present:

sent: Between which offices the primitive church made a mighty distinction. Now what is here very remarkable, and proper to direct Christian people, is the known case of the great *Origen*: when he was very young, and himself, with his mother and brethren, reduced to the utmost poverty. At which time a rich lady, out of respect and compassion for his misery, afforded him all kind of assistance, and took him into her house. This lady at the same time maintained one *Paul*, a notorious heretic (such as I for certain esteem our present supporters of the *Athanasian* faith and *Athanasian* creed to be) whom she adopted for her son, who held conferences in her house; where a great number, not only of the heretics, but also of the catholics were present. But tho' *Origen* was obliged, out of necessity, to converse with this man, yet would he never hold communion with him in prayer; *keeping exactly to the canon of the church*, as the historian informs us, and testifying his abhorrence of the doctrines of heretics. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vi. 2.*

But note, That as I am not *fully satisfied* that it is lawful for me to communicate with the church of *England*, so far as I have already been willing to allow, and do at present practise, so do I thoroughly take it still for granted, that it can be no longer lawful for me so to do, than till I can light of enow to set up a truly primitive congregation of Christians, at least of such a *church in a house*: Which I earnestly wish may be very soon.

Memorandum. That I continued in the communion of the church of *England*, till *Trinity Sunday*, 1747. For tho' I still resolved to go out of the church, if Mr. *Belgrave* continued to read the *Athanasian* Creed, so did he by omitting it, both on *Easterday* and *Whitsunday* this year, prevent my

leaving the public worship till *Trinity Sunday*: While he knew I should go out of the church if he began to read it. Yet did he read it that day, to my great surprize. Upon which I was obliged to go out, and to go to the Baptist Meeting at *Morcot*, two miles off, as I intend to do hereafter, while I am here at *Lyndon*, till some better opportunity presents of setting up a more primitive congregation myself.

Lyndon, June 15, 1747.

WILL. WHISTON.

As I also intend to observe *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, not at church, but at home, and to use my *Liturgy of the church of England reduced nearer to the primitive standard*, till Providence call me to a larger congregation.

N. B. About *August* this year, 1748, I was informed of one Dr. *Gill*, a particular or *Calvinist* Baptist, of whose skill in the oriental languages I had heard a great character. So I had a mind to hear him preach. But being informed that he had written a folio book on the *Canticles*, I declined to go to hear him.

About the same time I had a mind to know somewhat authentically of the *Moravians*, of whose seriousness in religion I had heard a good character. Accordingly I went to their bookseller, Mr. *Hutton's* shop, in *Fetter-lane*, to enquire about them, or buy some good account of them. But not meeting with him at home, nor any such account, I bought however a small book of their sermons, and reading some of them I found so much weakness, and enthusiasm mixed with a great degree of seriousness, that I was cured of my
incli-

inclination to go to their public worship, and avoided it.

I shall now add my last famous discovery, or rather my revival of Dr. *Giles Fletcher's* famous discovery, that the *Tartars* are no other than the ten tribes of *Israel*: Which have been so long sought for in vain.

A Discourse concerning the Tartars, proving (in all Probability) that they are the Israelites, or Ten Tribes, which being captivated by Salmanassar, were transplanted into Media.

By Giles Fletcher, Doctor of both Laws, and sometime Ambassador from Elifabeth Queen of England, to the Emperor of Russia.

For *Zion's* sake I will not hold my tongue, and for *Jerusalem's* sake I will not rest; until the righteousness thereof break forth as the light, and the salvation thereof as a burning lamp.
Isa. lxii. 1.

[*This was found in Sir Francis Nethersole's study after his death.*]

The T A R T A R S.

WHAT is become of those *Ten Tribes* which were subdued and carried captive by the *Assyrians*; and whether they live and hold together as a people apart or several by themselves, or are confused with other nations; and where they are? is often questioned by divines, but not resolved (for ought I know) with any reasonable probability.

That they have lost their name, and the distinction of their tribes, is more than probable. For no nation of the world are called *Israelites*, and so divided at this day. Neither was there cause why the distinction of their tribes should be continued;

seeing the end for which the people were disparted by God himself, is passed, and fully accomplished long ago. For that men might know where to look for that blessed seed, it pleased God to elect one nation of all the world; and out of that nation, one tribe, or kindred; and out of that tribe one house or family, whereof the *Messias* should be born, as touching the flesh: Who being now come, there is no cause the distinction of their tribes should still continue. Only the *Jews*, or the tribe of *Judah* retain their name, but are so commixed with that of *Benjamin*, as that they are called by one name, so that neither the *Benjamites*, nor the *Jews* can tell of what tribe they come.

But that the *Israelitish* ten tribes are somewhere extant, and (by God's providence) as a people kept intirely and unconfused with other nations, is plain by this; for that they were not quite destroyed, nor dispeopled, but only captived or transplanted by the *Assyrians*. And because all *Israel* (whereby is meant the whole nation) shall be called to the acknowledgment of *Jesus Christ*, to be the *Messias*, so long expected; yet refused by that people, when he came: Which general Calling cannot be true, except those tribes be still continuing, and somewhere extant in the world, to be conjoined and reunited as one nation, as once they were.

As for those other two tribes, to wit of *Judah* and of *Benjamin*, which for their notable infidelity, and contempt of the Son of God, are made a spectacle to the world, and plagued with this so horrible a desolation, and dispersion through the world, it is well known both where they are, and how they live; not distinguished by their tribes, nor yet united into one policy or community among themselves, but diffused, tho' not confused; and dispersed in small numbers here and there; deprived

prived of all save their name, which they retain ; and that rather for a reproach, than for any honour or estimation in those places where they live ; that they may be known by other nations to be that people whom God hath punished, and rejected for that sin in so rejecting the Son of God ; but will receive and call again for his own mercy and promise sake.

A thing exemplary to the world ; as well of the rigour and severity of God's justice, which he would have observed and marked by all ; but especially by those Christian states wherein they live, lest for like contempt and infidelity they procure unto themselves the like judgment. As also that of his great and infinite mercy in preserving that people from mixture and confusion with other nations, that the truth and certainty of his Word may so be known, when they shall be called to the public knowledge and profession of *Jesus Christ*, as by his Apostle he hath foretold, and will perform in good time.

But these other tribes, whereof we speak, that were not massacred nor extirpated, but transplanted by the *Assyrians*, where they now are, and how they have lived ever since, and whether they be a several people, or else commixed with other nations, is no where mentioned, either in heathen or sacred story, for ought I know. Yet is it not hard to find them out, if we enquire and seek for them where it is likely they may be found. And the likeliest place to find them in, is it not in or near those Colonies where they were planted at first ?

And what I pray you if we should seek them among the *Tartars*, who are esteemed to be the most vile or barbarous nation in the world : You will say perhaps, a thing unworthy and unbecoming that great mercy which God vouchsafed

to that people, when they were yet his own peculiar, an holy nation, elected by God, out of all the nations of the world! And if it could not stand with that most holy and perfect justice, so to abase a wicked people, and so rebellious against their God, as were these *Israelites*; tho' he had cast them down from the highest heaven to the lowest centre of all dishonour, even *ad Tartaros*; whereby (in the poets phrase) is meant the place of the damned souls, and hell itself; in a resemblance (as may be thought) of like disorder and confusion in both places.

As for that conjecture of some divines that they are the people called *Alani*, it is not only a very improbable, but a very absurd and gross opinion. These *Alani* (as all Men know) being a people not of *Asia* but of *Europe*; by their other name called *Triballi*, and this their passage and expedition through the one country to the other (which was to be made through so great nations, both of the upper and lower *Asia*) being impossible (at least very unlikely) to be passed over by all stories, which since have written in every age. Only I hear the same affirmed by that learned *Frenchman*, *Philip Morney*, Lord of *Plessey*; (whom I name for honour's sake; both for his learning and nobility thrice renowned) but not confirmed by any reason, save that he draweth from the notation of the word. For that *Tartar*, in the *Syrian* tongue, signifieth *Remnants* or *Remainders*. But that the *Tartars* are the *Israelites*, which were transported into *Media*, and the other two adjoining countries, you shall hear such reasons as I observed when I remained among the *Russes*, their next neighbours, some years ago; which if they be not demonstrative, yet to me seem so probable, as that myself am now persuaded and fully settled in that opinion,

that

that they are the natural and true offspring and posterity of those *Israelites*.

My first reason is from the place. The place whither they were transported by the *Assyrians*, and there planted (as is in the manner of great Conquerors, when they aspire unto a monarchy, to abate the spirits of such a people as may be dangerous to their State, and likely otherwise to make a revolt, as were the *Israelites*, who could not endure a foreign prince, to break their strength by dividing them into many parts) were the cities and parts of *Media*, then a province, and in subjection to the *Assyrians*; where they placed the greatest number, as by the story may be gathered, the rest in *Harack*, and by the river *Habor*. Of which the one is part of *Chaldaran*, the other a river of *Mesopotamia*, with a town adjoining of the same name.

The country of *Media* (as it is described by cosmographers, but more particularly by our merchants, and other travellers which have been there) lieth about the *Caspian Sea*; which the *Russe* calleth *Bachualenskey*, and by taking away the first syllable for shortness sake (wherewith the *Sclavon* and *Russe* tongues are much delighted) *Chualenskey More*. All which countries lying upon the north-east and northern side of the *Caspian* or *Chualenskey*, to the *Siberian* and northern sea (which containeth in it a large territory, by the description of cosmographers, and the report of such as have been there) is now possessed and inhabited by the *Tartars*; and by the consent of all stories, which since have written of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* monarchies, hath so continued since *Cyrus's* time; who, after he had obtained the monarchy, did first invade those *Scythian* shepherds, or *Tartar* people, two hundred years (or thereabout) after the *Israelites* deportation, who were grown by that time a very great and mighty

people. For we may not think, neither is it likely, that the *Assyrians*, who were the monarchs of all the East, would place a conquered and captive people in the fairest cities of all *Media*, and pleasantest places of that country, which lie on the south and south-west parts of the *Bachualenskey* or *Caspian* sea; which by report of all stories and travellers which have been there, is one of the sweetest and fertilest countries of all the world, and best replenished with all things necessary and delightful; but rather in the remote and barren places of that country, which were beyond the *Caspian* sea, upon the north and north-east parts; where these *Tartar* people have had their dwelling and habitation ever since.

As for those other two colonies of the *Israelites*, which were placed in *Harack* and *Habore*, they bordered both upon the *Medians*; so that all these tribes might easily meet and join together, when opportunity served their turn; which happened to them not long after, when all those provinces of *Media*, *Chaldaran*, *Mesopotamia*, with their governors, *Merodach-Baladan*, and *Deioces*, by a defection fell away from the *Assyrians*, in the tenth year of *Asser-Adon*. And that these tribes not long after did reunite themselves, and join together in one nation, as they were before, being induced partly by their own desire; (as ever disdaining to live commixed with other people;) and partly forced by the violence of the *Medians*, who expelled them thence; being but strangers and thrust upon them by the *Assyrians*, shall appear plainly by that which follows.

2. A second reason is from the names and appellations of their cities and great towns, which are situate upon the east and north-east side of the *Bachualenskey* or *Caspian* Sea. These *Tartar* cities, which yet are extant, have many of them the same
names

names as had those ancient towns and cities which were inhabited by the *Israelites*, while they enjoyed their own country. Their metropolite or chief city (though now deformed by many ruins) is *Samarchian*; which hath many monuments of that nation (as they report who have been there:) Where the great *Tamerlane*, who led about in a golden chain the *Turkish* Emperor, called *Bajazet*, had his seat and place of residence. And how little is *Samarchian* from *Samaria*, the chief city of these *Israelites*, the seat and chamber of their kings; only differing in termination; a thing usual in proper names of men or cities, when they are pronounced in divers languages. For what differs the name of *Londres* (as it is termed by the *French*) from this of *London*? or the Town of *Antwerp* from that of *Anverse*? or *Edinburgh* from *Edinburgum*? The same difference may be observed in the proper names of men and women, both in the front and first syllable and termination of the name. For what consonance hath *Maria* or *Mariamne* with that of *Miriam* among the *Hebrews*? or the *English James*, or the *Scottish Jamie*, with the *French Jaques*, or the *Latin Jacobus*? and yet these names are all one.

They have also *Mount Tabor*, a great town and well fenced with a strong fort, situate upon an high hill, nothing differing in form or name from that *Mount Tabor* of the *Israelites*, so often mentioned in the Scriptures. They have a city called *Jericho*, seated upon the river *Ardock*, near the *Caspian*, upon the north and north-east. They have *Corazen* the Great and Less, whereof the less was surprized not long ago (*—deest nonnihil*, I guess by the *Russè*) upon whose country the *Tartar* people sometime encroach, and he on theirs.

This univocation of *Tartar* cities with those of *Israel*, concurring with the former reason from the place

place and country, whither they were sometime transplanted by the *Affyrians*, doth plainly shew that the *Israelitish* people have been there, and given the names unto these cities; as the manner is in all places, for remembrance of their countries and dwellings from whence they came, or of the planters and first founders of the colonies; as of *Galatia*, by the *Gauls*; and the *Tyre* of *Africk*, from that of *Phanice*; the like is now used in new colonies, as *Nova Francia*, *Nova Hispania*, *St. Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and other like.

These *Tartar* cities are inhabited by so many as are sufficient to defend them from the hostility of the *Persian* and other borderers. But the greater part, which are commonly called *σκυθαὶ νομάδες*, or *Scythian* shepherds, do seldom come within any city or standing houses, except it be in winter time; but abide in tents, or walking houses, which the *Latin* writers call *Weij*; which are built and carried upon wheels, like carts or waggon.

Their manner is in summer time, when grass is grown, and fit for pasturage, with their herds and flocks to march northward and north-west, from the south-east parts (where they continue all winter) not altogether, but in their *Hoords* and several armies, under the conduct and direction of their *Morseyes* and *Divoymorseys*, which are their Princes and Vicegerents, under the great *Cham*, their Emperor; and to graze along by the way they go until they come to their next stage, or resting-place; where they plant their *Veij* or wagon-houses, and so make the form of a great city, with many streets, continuing there till their cattle have grazed up all. Thus they proceed by small stages till they arrive at the farthest point towards the North, and then return toward the South, or south-east parts, by another way; where their cattle have fresh pasturage: And so retiring
by

by short journeys, by the end of summer, they arrive again in the south-east country, near the *Caspian*, in a more mild and temperate climate; where they continue all the winter, within their cities or cart-houses, set together, in form and fashion of a town, as before was said.

3. My third reason is from the *Distinction* of their tribes, which by the *Tartars* are called *Hoords*, which being united in one Government, and communicable in all things else, yet may not unite or mix together by intermarriage; but keep apart, to avoid the confusion of their kindred; except it be for the defence or public benefit of the whole. And this division of the nation into tribes, without commixion of their kindreds (which was nowhere used by any nation, save the *Israelites*) is still continued, and observed among the *Tartars* most religiously.

A fourth reason is, from the *number* of their tribes, which are *ten* in all, neither more nor less, as were the *Israelites*. Their names are these: 1. The *Crim Tartar*; who most infesteth the *Russe* Borders; for which respect the chief leaders of this tribe, whom they call *Morseys*, or *Divoymorseys*, receive their pensions from the *Russe*, not to invade or hurt their country: 2. The *Cheremissim*: 3. The *Morduit Tartar*: 4. The *Nagay*, whereof the one is the warlyest people, the other the cruellest, and most barbarous of all the rest: 5. The *Zeibair*; from whence the *Siberes*, or *Siberians*, which dwell by the river *Obba*, derive their pedigree, and are therefore reckoned and annumbered to this tribe: 6. The *Mecrit Hoord*: 7. The *Shalcan*: 8. The *Chircassey*; the most civil *Tartar* of all the rest; of a comely person, and much affecting to be like the *Lachish* or *Polonian*, in his habit, gesture, and whole behaviour: 9. The *Cassack*: The 10th and last is called *Turchebian*;

cheftan; which imports as much as *Herdman-Tartar*; becaufe this *Hoord* is the greateft herd-master and cattle-breeder of all the reft; from whom the *Turks* had their beginning, as faith the *Ruffe*.

And that this is true, befide the report of the *Ruffe* people, and other borderers, which have beft caufe to know their pedigree, it is the opinion of all hiftorians which lived about the time when the *Turkifh* nation firft invaded the upper *Asia*, and began to grow a great and mighty monarchy. Among the reft it fhall not be idle or impertinent to report here what *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* (the *Athenian*) briefly writeth, in the beginning of his ftory, touching the origin of the *Turks*.

It is thought (faith he) that the *Turkifh* nation derives their pedigree from the *Scythians*, which are commonly called the *Tartarians*; very probably, becaufe they differ very little in tongue or manners. That the *Tartar* people have fundry times invaded *Asia* (what time the *Parthians* held the monarchy of the Eaft;) firft the upper, and then the lower, as *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Cappadocia*, it is well known to the inhabitants of thofe countries. And truly even at this day you may fee a great number of fuch people difperfed abroad here and there through all *Asia*, who in their diet and whole Behaviour refemble the *Scythian* or *Tartar* people. And a little after; It is a very manifefit truth, that the *Tartars* which now inhabit a part of *Europe* towards the Eaft (whereby he meaneth the *Crim Tartar*) have a refemblance every way with the *Turkifh* nation, which are of *Asia*; daily bartering and commercing with them in diet, habit, and whole behaviour, agreeing with the *Turk*. And no marvel is it, becaufe the *Scythians* or *Tartar* people were fometimes Lords both of the higher and lower *Asia*. The name of *Turk*, whereby is fignified an *Herdman*, or one
that

that liveth a wild life among beasts and cattle, doth likewise argue the very same, that the *Turkish* nation hath their beginning from the *Tartars*, or *Scythian* shepherds. Thus far *Laonicus Chalcocondylas*, in his story, written in *Greek*, where he beginneth with the *Ogusians*, the *Turkish* Emperors, afterward called *Othomans*, about the year of Christ 1294.

But to return: These *Scythian* shepherds, now called *Tartars* (as by all Stories both *Greek* and *Latin* may appear) have contained themselves in those countries betwixt the *Caspian* and *Northern* Seas since *Cyrus's* time; when for their victory against so great and mighty a monarch, they began to be first known, and famous to other nations. How long before it is not recorded by any story, but that they inhabited not that country which is now possessed by the *Tartars*, till after the *Israelite* deportation into *Media* (which was 240 years or thereabout before *Cyrus's* time) may be collected out of the best and ancientest stories.

5. Themselves affirm (as they have received it by *Tradition* from their ancestors) that they had their origin from the *Israelites*, who were transplanted near the *Caspian* or *Hircane* Sea. By which tradition (as by the stories of those times is reported) the great *Tamerlane* would boast himself that he was descended from the *Tribe of Dan*.

6. Sixthly, Though the *Tartar* language be yet unknown, because they live as a savage people, without society or commerce with other nations, suffering none to come within them, yet it is conjectured by certain words of the *Tartar* language, which I have heard repeated by the *Russe*, that they have many *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* words: Whereof also this may be an argument, that the *Turkish* is a dialect little differing from the *Scythian* or *Tartar* tongue. But the *Turkish* language, though it be mingled with much *Arabic* and some
Greek,

Greek, hath great consonance with the *Hebrew*, as by learned travellers is observed.

7. Seventhly, They are circumcised, as were the *Israelite* and *Jewish* people.

8. The last reason (which I allege to give occasion to our divines to consider better of this place) is taken out of the sixteenth chapter of the *Apocalypse*: Where the Angel of the sixth Phial is commanded to prepare the passage for the kings of the East, by drying up the river *Euphrates*, which by all Interpreters of that place is understood of the *Jews* calling from the dispersion among the *Gentiles*, unto their ancient dwelling, and native county, there to profess the true knowledge of God in Christ: which (as I take it) cannot be meant of the tribe of *Judah*, for the exceptions which may be forced from the very place, and text itself.

First, Because the tribe of *Judah*, and the remainder of that of *Benjamin*, which were dispeopled, and carried captive by the *Romans*, have their being, and are dispersed, not in the east, or north-east countries, from whence the passage toward *Syria* and *Palestine* lyeth over the river *Euphrates*; but in these western and southern parts of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, where ever since they have continued in that exiled and servile state. From whence the passage toward *Syria* and *Palestine*, lieth not over the river *Euphrates*, but is far wide and distant from it, toward the North and North-east. Secondly, because the persons there mentioned, which are to pass over the river *Euphrates*, are called Kings, which being taken for spiritual kings (as they intend it) is but a forced exposition; the whole number of the faithful Christians (in this sense) being kings alike; neither is it agreeable with the meaning of that place, which speaketh plainly of such kings, as are to
lead

lead some great army over the river *Euphrates*. But being literally understood of Kings indeed, can no ways suit with the *Jewish* tribe, which hath no kings; but is all a poor and servile people to the towns and countries where they dwell. The place therefore is literally to be understood of these *Israelitish* ten tribes, which we affirm to be the *Tartar*.

First, Because these ten tribes, or Hoords of *Tartars* from the isle of *Patmos*, where *John* wrote, are an orient or eastern people, on the East and North-east of the *Caspian*; which cannot be said of the *Jewish* tribe, or that of *Benjamin*, as now they dwell in the hither parts of *Asia*, *Africa*, or *Europe*, which lie south and south-west towards *Euphrates*. *Secondly*, From the situation of the place: For that the *Tartars*, whom we suppose to be the *Israelites*, can no way pass out of the countries where they now dwell, toward *Judea*, or *Palestine*, which lieth southward from the *Caspian* or *Hircan* Sea, but over the river *Euphrates*, which lieth across, and intermeddle between these two countries. *Thirdly*, Because the title and name of Kings (in the plural number) agreeth properly with the *Tartars*, who have many kings, to wit, as many as they have tribes: Every *Morsey*, or *Divoymorsey* (besides their Emperor the Great *Cham*, whom they esteem above the dignity of a King) being a Prince, or sovereign Lord over his tribe.

To which purpose the feigned *Esdra*s (whom I alledge not as authentic, to confirm matters of faith, and doctrine; but to illustrate as a story this holy prophecy, which is more obscurely here set down by the apostle) inferreth the Angel thus expounding his night-vision of things to come in the later times. 2 *Esdra*s, 13. cap. *That which thou sawest; (to wit) the Man who there is called*

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The Son of God, to gather unto him another multitude of more peaceable and quiet people, are the Ten Tribes, which were carried captive out of their land in the time of Oseas King of Israel, whom Salmanassar King of Aser, carried beyond the River Euphrates: So were they brought into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go into a farther country, where never men had dwelt before. Whereby it seems he meant the country which lieth betwixt the *Bachualenskey*, and Northern Seas; which is possessed by the *Tartars*. And a little after (ver. 46.) *Then dwelt they there till the latter time. But when they shall come forth again, the Most High shall hold fast the springs of the river, (to wit, Euphrates) that they may pass through. Therefore sawest thou the multitude peaceable.*

Where he telleth that this return of the holy people over *Euphrates* towards their country, in the latter times, is meant of the *Israelitish* ten tribes, which were carried captives by the *Assyrians*, who, after the manner of that people, would live alone, not commixed with other nations; and therefore brake out of the colonies where they were placed by the *Assyrians*, and went from thence to a remote and inward country, as is *Tartaria*, from the society of other men: Which cannot be said of the *Jewish* tribe, which notwithstanding, by the example of these other tribes, shall be encouraged to join together, and to march likewise out of the places where now they are, towards the country of *Judea*, without any impeachment or resistance of other nations.

As for the manner of passing over the said river, whether it shall be an actual drying of the water, or a removal of all impediments which may stop or hinder their speedy passage, in this their expedition toward their country, I will not
now

now argue it at this time. That it shall be an actual exsiccation of that river, with no less miracle than the drying up of the Red Sea, or the river *Jordan*, when they passed towards the land of *Canaan*, that so this work of God, which shall be famous in all the world, even the restoring of this people, may be observed by other nations, with great reason and probability is affirmed by *Thomas Brightman*, the last interpreter of that book, whom God endued with special gifts and great *brightness*, after his name, for the full clearing and exposition of that prophecy, above all that hitherto have written of it.

N. B. Several of the observations in this paper of *Dr. Giles Fletcher* (whose brother was afterward Bishop of *London*, in the days of King *James I.*) are confirmed in his own small, but most accurate account of *Russia*, written *A. D.* 1589, it seems, before he discovered the *Tartars* were the ten tribes, as the inquisitive reader may see in the sixth chapter of that history concerning the *Tartars* as bordering on the *Russians*, pag. 155—179.

N. B. The name of the country, whither the ten tribes went in, 4 *Esd.* xiii. 45. as in the *Margin Ararath*, and in the *Arabic Ach-arari*, or *Armenia*, which is no way improbable.

N. B. Altho' this author's notions, that *Media* extended to the north of the *Caspian* Sea; that *Cyrus* the Great had war with the *Scythians*, and was conquered by them, and that the VIth Vial in the *Revelation* is meant of the ten tribes, cannot, I think, be defended; yet may his opinion of the *Tartars* being the ten tribes, be thoroughly supported, by deriving their origin from the *Cadusians*, which in my *Sacred History of the Old Testament*,

stament, pag. 542, 543. I suppose to have been really those ten tribes, in the days of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. And since it appears that what this author affirms of the *Tartars*, is true, that they are *circumcised*, the known ancient *circumcision* of the *Colchians*, and those people that dwelt near them, in the days of *Herodotus*, of which in the place just now quoted, will be a notable confirmation that they are really the same ten tribes. I therefore here insert this small paper, which I have long had in my custody, but which has been very little known by the learned hitherto : It was found in MS. in Sir *Francis Netherfole's* study (who had been an ambassador himself) at *Polesworth, Warwickshire*, after his death, in *Charles the II'd's* time ; tho' I find it is in print, and in the *Bodleian Library*.

N. B. It may be proper to set down here what evidence I have already produced out of my *Sacred History of the Old Testament*, pag. 542, 543. and what is there quoted out of my *Authentic Records*, pag. 53, 54. about this matter. *Artaxerxes (Mnemon)* having thus finished the *Cyprian* war, * led an army of 300,000 foot, and 10,000 horse against the *Cadusians* : But the country, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions enough to feed so large an army, he had like to have lost them all for want thereof ; but that *Tiribastus* extricated him from this danger : He followed the king in this expedition, or rather was led with the court in it as a prisoner, being in great disgrace because of *Oronte's* accusation ; and having received information, that whereas the *Cadusians* had two kings, they did not act in thorough concert together, by reason of the jealousy and mistrust

* *Plutarchus* in *Artaxerxe*. *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 15. p. 462.

which

which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he proposed to *Artaxerxes* the bringing them to submission by a treaty : And having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other, and so ordered the matter that making each of them believe that the other was treating separately with the king, brought both separately to submit to him, and so saved him and all his army. These people * inhabited some part of the mountainous country which lies between the *Euxine* and the *Caspian* Seas, to the north of *Media*, where † they having neither seed-time nor harvest, lived mostly upon apples and pears, and other such tree fruits ; the land by reason of its ruggedness and unfertility not being capable of tillage : And this was that which brought the *Persians* into such distress, when they invaded them ; the country not being capable of affording provisions for so great an army. *Ful-ler* ‡ hath a conceit that these *Cadusians* were the descendants of the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, which the kings of *Affyria* carried captive out of the land of *Canaan* : But his reason for it being only that he thinks they were called *Cadusians* from the *Hebrew* word *Kedushim*, which signifieth *holy people* : This is not foundation enough to build such an assertion upon : It would have been a better argument for this purpose, had he urged for it, that || the *Colchians* and neighbouring nations are said anciently to have used circumcision ; for not far from the *Colchians* was the country of the *Cadusians*. [But that this opinion is not an improbable one,

* *Strabo*, lib. 2. p. 507, 508, 510, 523, 524.

† *Plutarchus* in *Artaxerxe*.

‡ *Miscel.* lib. 2. c. 5.

|| *Herodotus*, lib. 2. *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 1..

see *Authent. Rec.* part 1. pag. 53, 54. This country is also by *Xenophon* called *Caldæa*, the original seat of *Abraham*, the father of all the twelve tribes, as is well known.]

So far out of my *Sacred History of the Old and New Testament*. Take now what is in my *Authentic Records*, pag. 53, 54.

5. We have another very strong internal argument for the genuine truth of this fourth book of *Esdra*s, which used to be made a principal argument against it, I mean that account we have of the removal of the ten tribes out of the *Medopersian* empire, into a country uninhabited till that time. 4 *Esd.* xiii. 39—47. It is evident and confessed by all, that these ten tribes were carried thither by the *Assyrians*, *Pul*, *Tiglath-Pul-Assar*, and *Salman-Assar*: They were there till the death of *Tobias* jun. who was one of them, when *Niniveth* was destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Astyages*: *Tobit* xiv. 14, 15. Their situation beyond *Euphrates* was known when *Baruch* wrote his epistle and postscript to them, after the *Jewish* temple was burned by *Nebuchadnezzar*; of which we have already treated: See *Authent. Rec.* pag. 13—27. They were also there in the days of our *Esdra*s, when he wrote his two first chapters of this book to them, as then captives under the *Medes* and *Persians*; 4 *Esd.* i. 24. which I take to have been about the fifteenth year of this *Artaxerxes*; yet it is withal evident, that when *Zerduſht*, the great legislator of the *Medes* and *Persians*, set up his *Religion of Abraham* in that empire, which, as we shall see, was about the middle of this reign, there appear no *Jews* there; as we may easily observe thro' the whole history of *Dr. Hyde*, and that neither their brethren, the *Jews* of the two tribes in *Judea*, nor those in *Babylon* have ever since been able to give us any good account of them; or
have

have indeed at all known were they were to this very day. What is the natural, the necessary consequence of all this? but that about the very time here specified, these ten tribes really removed themselves unto some, till then, and till now, unknown part of the world, as we are here particularly informed. Accordingly we find an account in *Plutarch's* Life of this *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, that in the twenty-first year of his reign [*Anno ante Æram Christi* 384.] there were a people called *Cadusians* or *Holy People*, (which was the common name for the *Jews* there in those days) situate on the north-west parts of *Media*, near the beginning of the river *Euphrates*, whither this account supposes the ten tribes to have bent their course*. We also find these *Cadusii* or *Holy People*, when pursued and attacked by the *Persians*, escaping those *Persians* under the conduct of two kings or leaders†; as the forefathers of the *Jews* had escaped the *Egyptians* under the conduct of *Moses* and *Aaron*; and probably not without some such signs or wonderful works as *Moses* and *Aaron* of old wrought, and of which our accounts here make express mention. 4 *Esd.* xiii. 44. Though the *Persians*, as is very usual, endeavour to palliate the matter, by ascribing their own deliverance to a knavish stratagem of one *Tiribazus*; while they confess that otherwise their army had been destroyed by these *Cadusians*. We may also take notice, that of these *Cadusians*, yet we have nothing till this time; and that *Strabo* calls them *Foreigners*, that came thither from elsewhere. XI. pag. 794.

We also find that this rout or journey is very agreeable to that year and half's time, which this author allows for it; the road from *Ecbatana* the

* See *Fuller's Miscellanies*, l. ii. c. 5.

† *Prid.* at *Anno* 384. & *Anno* 610.

capital of *Media*, to *Samarchand* the capital of the ten tribes, round the *Caspian* Sea, being little less than 2000 miles. xiii. 45.

And lastly, we may remark, that since *Artaxerxes* thought fit to bring no fewer than 310,000 men into the field against these *Cadusians*, as *Plutarch* witnesses, it looks much more like an attempt to recover these intire ten tribes of *Israel*, who had long been his subjects, his slaves, and and his captives, but were now departed out of his dominions, (like *Pharaoh's* attempt in *Egypt*) than to reduce only certain scattered mountaineers who were in rebellion against him, as *Plutarch* supposes, &c. *

To conclude, the judicious reader need but carefully read the learned *N. Fuller's* second book and fifth chapter, written on purpose against this notion, and he will be thereby strongly confirmed in its truth.

N. B. There being just now come out the first volume of a very remarkable book, by Mr. *Archibald Bower*, a convert from popery, *Of the History of the Popes*: Which volume includes that earliest period, in which I have so long and so thoroughly been conversant; it may justly be expected I should take some notice of it; which I shall do in this place, tho' very briefly.

But before I begin my other observations, I shall own that I have met with one in him, as to *Clemens Romanus*, which as often as I have read his writings, neither I, nor any other, I suppose, ever took notice of before, viz. that he says, *Jacob was his father*, πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ, Epist. i. § 4. as if he were by birth a Jew. This might be true even of a citizen of *Rome*, and one born at

* See Strabo ubi prius.

Rome, as was *Clement*. So I heartily thank Mr. *Bower* for this observation.

Now this Notion that *Clement Romanus* was a *Jew*, is strongly confirmed by what he says himself, Epist. i. § 12. *That Rahab tyed a red or scarlet thread to her house to give notice it was to be preserved; but withal to denote that salvation was to be had by the blood of the Lord; and that they were to esteem that as a prophetic indication of the death of Christ.* [This looks much more like a *Jew* than a *Gentile*.] But to proceed:

1. Mr. *Bower*, with some weak protestants before him, almost pretends to deny that *Peter* ever was at *Rome*, pag. 1, 2, 3. concerning which matter take my own former words, out of my three Tracts, pag. 53. ‘Mr. *Baratier* proves in his first chap. most thoroughly, as Bishop *Pearson* had done before him, that *St. Peter* was at *Rome*. ‘This is so clear in Christian antiquity, that ’tis ‘a shame for a protestant to confess that any ‘protestant ever denied it.’ I think *St. John*, in the *Revelation* xi. 8. as the most and best copies have it, *where also their lord [Peter] was crucified*, has fully determined this point; and assured us that *Peter* was crucified at *Rome*, as all antiquity agrees also. This partial procedure demonstrates, that tho’ Mr. *Bower* has gotten clear of the prejudices of popery, yet has he by no means gotten clear of the prejudices of some protestants, as an impartial writer of history, which he strongly pretends to be, ought to do, and has in this case greatly hurt the protestant cause, instead of helping it. He might have denied his being *bishop of Rome*, without disputing his being *there*.

2. Mr. *Bower* is but poorly acquainted with the first, and part of the second centuries of Christianity, as all men must of necessity be, who take little notice of any books of the *New Testament*,

but those which the vulgar *Latin* Bible contains. This is one of the most pernicious errors which the moderns are guilty of, and which when it is once corrected, the grosser errors of the protestants, as well as the grosser errors of the papists, will be too plain to be denied or excused any longer. Nor ought Mr. *Bower* to slight that excellent book of the *Recognitions of Clement*, tho' it be not properly a book of the *New Testament*, nor has come so uncorrupt to our hands as were to be wished, since it appears to be a work of the first century itself. See *Sacred History of the New Testament*, pag. 373, 441. and the *Preface* to my *English* edition.

3. Mr. *Bower* banters the famous victory of *St. Peter* over *Simon Magus*, at *Rome*, one of the best attested miracles of the *New Testament*, and contained in the Apostolical Constitutions themselves, lib. vi. chap. 9. See my sheet against Mr. *Collins*, pag. 9.

4. He slights the second epistle of *Clement*; which when we examined it in our society, above thirty years ago, appeared to be certainly genuine.

5. He does not allow that *Paul* was in *Spain*, contrary to *Clement's* undisputed testimony, that he went to the utmost bounds of the *West*. See *Sacred History of the New Testament*, pag. 67.

6. Mr. *Bower* places the series of the first bishops of *Rome* wrong, as others had done before him; for want of considering that much more authentic account in my three Tracts, pag. 49, and *Sacred History of the New Testament*, pag. 89. As demonstrated long ago in the third volume of my *Primitive Christianity Revived*, pag. 96—106.

7. He despises traditions, even near the times of the apostles themselves, from whom all such traditions were then derived; and which I have
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commonly found to be of more sure authority, as to points of practice and discipline, in those early times, than the quotations of particular texts of Scripture themselves; I mean after the apostolical age. Traditions of the fourth and following centuries are one thing, and those of the second and third quite another.

8. In page 27, Mr. *Bower* mistakes the Affair of *Anicetus* and *Polycarp*, as belonging to the *Quartodeciman* controversy, as do others, and I myself did formerly. See Three Tracts, pag. 70, 71. where it is set right from the original evidence itself.

9. He, without reason, rejects the epistles of Pope *Victor* to *Desiderius* and *Paracodas*, which appear to be quite of another nature and origin from the other gross decretals, so justly now rejected by all the learned. See Three Tracts, pag. 63—70.

10. Mr. *Bower* generally believes the tales of *Athanasius*, a notorious forger and liar, and with Pope *Julius*, the first proper papist in the world; against the better evidence of genuine antiquity. See my *Ancient Monuments*, pag. 102, &c. and *Athanasian Forgeries*, at large.

11. Mr. *Bower* excuses the translation of bishops, contrary to the old laws and practice of the Christian church till the fourth century. This is the grossest article in this whole volume; which if the *English* bishops had not practised, I suppose he would hardly have ventured upon. See my *Christian Discipline*, pag. 39—43.

12. Mr. *Bower* is too bitter in his reflections, and while, after the heats arisen upon the late rebellion, had but too much exasperated the *British* protestants against the papists, he increases that ferment, which he ought to have endeavoured to allay. When the protestants have corrected
their

their own many and grievous errors and evil practices, it will be time enough to be so severe upon those of others. However, Mr. *Bower* seems to be a great master of these later popish antiquities and knaveries in and since the fourth century. But as I am very little acquainted with those ages I intend to meddle no farther about them.

Sept. 28, 1748.

WILL. WHISTON.

An extract out of Dr. Watts's Funeral Sermon, by Mr. David Jennings, Page 24.

IN the month of *September*, 1712, he was visited with a violent fever, which broke his constitution, and left such weakness upon his Nerves, as continued with him, in some measure, to his dying day. Upon this occasion, *prayer was made without ceasing, of the church, unto God for him.* Several days of prayer were kept on his account; in which many of his brethren in the ministry assisted and wrestled earnestly with God for the continuance of so valuable a life; and God has been graciously pleased to answer their prayers, by adding to his life thirty-six years.

Lyndon, Dec. 27, 1748.

A Letter to Mr. *Arnald*,

Hon. S I R.

I Have pretty carefully perused part of your Commentary on *Ecclesiasticus*, and am going on in its perusal. I am in the main highly pleased with the work, and am very glad of the number of your subscribers, and have recommended the same to the Society at *Stamford*.

As

As for the *Authentic Records*, and Dr. Lee's *Dissertation*, which should always go along with the double copy of *Esdra's*, I have them not here, but at *London*, where I hope to be in less than a month, and where you may have them of me at Mr. *Bishop's*, a bookseller, in *Little-Turn-stile, Holbourn*: But instead of money for them, I had rather have three copies of both your commentaries for them, and for the great last work of my life, the six volumes of my *Sacred History of the Old and New Testament*; which are now sent by the bearer accordingly. Your talent in the moral and religious books of *Apocrypha*, is very great and uncommon, and I am so much concerned for the good success of the same, that I wish you would stop here, and not venture upon *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Baruch*, *Maccabees*, and *Esdra's*, which are quite of another nature, and require quite another talent. You did very well to procure the bishop of *Durham's Chronological Dissertation*, to prefix to your Comment on *Ecclesiasticus*; he being a great master of chronology: But I believe he will not enter into the chronology of the other books, as I have done. And I beg of you not to venture upon them without his Assistance. I am,

S I R,

Your very loving Brother

and Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

Lyndon Rutland, Dec. 28, 1741.

To the Bishop of Durham.

My LORD,

Finding so great a chronologer as your Lordship, quite puzzled about the date of the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, as appears by your *Chronological Dissertation* prefixed to Mr. *Arnald's Commentary*; I venture to put you in mind, how obvious that date is, as set down by *Calvisius* himself, or any common chronologer; even without recourse to the *Monumentum Adulitanum*, which yet I had made use of in my *Sacred History of the Old Testament*, pag. 736. viz. that *Jesus* the translator came into *Egypt* in the thirty-eighth year of the common *Dionysian* or *Egyptian Æra*; which began, as is well known, *June 26th, anno ante æram Christianam 285*, and of which the 38th year accordingly began, *June 26, 247*, and ended *June 26, A. 248*. We therefore clearly learn from this original author, that *Euergetes* reigned before the thirty-eighth *Dionysian* or *Egyptian* year was ended; whether his father was actually dead, or quite distracted and incapable of government only, as he was a good while before his death. As for that notation of time, *almost after all the prophets*, in the *Alexandrian* author of the *Synopsis*, a very learned person, and as ancient as *Origen* himself, which I have proved above twenty years ago, *Auth. Rec.* pag. 691—701. it exactly agrees to his determination, since he himself names some prophets in his *Alexandrian* canon, not only later than *Jesus* the grandfather, the author of this book; whom I suppose to have been one of the seventy-two interpreters also thirty years before, but then *Jesus* the grandson, the translator, as is evident,

evident, pag. 694, 695. tho' your Lordship, by confounding the *Jerusalem* with the *Alexandrian* canon, cannot see it : But then, why you should so groundlessly esteem the history of *Aristeas* uncertain, while I have proved it genuine, beyond a possibility of reply, above twenty-four years ago, at the conclusion of my *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture prophecies*, I cannot possibly understand. If your Lordship remember how I formerly sent you two testimonies out of *Tertullian* and *Africanus*, that greatly illustrated the date of *Daniel's* LXX weeks, from the 25th of *Xerxes* ; which testimonies all the learned had overlooked before ; and add this, clearing the date of *Ecclesiasticus*, by what I now suggest, you and other learned men will find a necessity of re-examining many other of their old notions also. I am,

My LORD,

Your obliged humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

Jan. 6, 1748-9.

The Bishop's Answer.

Mr. Whiston,

I Thank you for your learned *Remarks* on the age of the eldest son of *Syrach*, which I am at present in no condition to consider, and doubt I never shall, my infirmities do so multiply and increase with my age, that my comfort is, that my life can't last long. But while I am on this side the grave, I shall always remain,

S I R, your affectionate

Friend and Brother,

E. DURESME.

Lyndon,

*Lyndon, Feb. 1. 1748-9.**To the Speaker of the House of Commons.*

Mr. Speaker,

YOU have long been so well acquainted with my affairs, and the circumstances of my family ; I will add that you have all along been so very kind to me, and so greatly concerned for the misfortunes and troubles that have befallen me, and them, that I think I need make no long apology for this my address to you on our account. You are not I believe unacquainted either with the abilities or application of my son *George*, or of my eldest son *William*. (One, while he was alive, well known to the committee of the house of commons, on account of his sagacity and diligence in their affairs, and on account of his labour in preserving some books remaining from the fire at *Cotton* library.) Neither was you unapprized of the late Queen's kind promise to my son *William*, when she was Regent, of a place of King's waiter, such as Dr. *Clark*'s son now enjoys, worth much about 100*l.* a year, and how it failed. You also know what vast pains he and his brother *George* took in learning the *Armenian* tongue, and how much too intense application *George* made to perfect the translation and notes of the principal historian of that nation, *Moses Chorenensis* ; to such a degree indeed, in a weak and valetudinary constitution of body, as has for several years rendered him incapable of hard study, and of most employments, otherwise befitting his learning and capacity. You will also soon know, upon the publication of the *Memoirs of my own Life*, what a strange disappointment I and my family long ago met with in the affair of Dr. *Turner*, prebendary of *Ely*, and the generous regard I had to him, which occasioned my

my own loss of full 1200*l.* and the increase of his benefaction to clergymens widows and orphans, of 5000*l.* You will also there know of my voluntary augmentation of a living I once had with 20*l.* a year, which in my late distresses I might legally have kept all my life. So that you cannot but be sensible the public is under some obligation, if not to me, in my old age, now I am going out of the world, yet to my family, or rather to my son *George* in particular, who alone of my children is hitherto wholly unprovided for.

Upon this occasion therefore, Mr. Speaker, you will give me leave to make my address to yourself, and such of my other friends as may have it in their power to assist me, and procure some employment or place for my son *George*, that may be easy and advantageous to him; and that without burdening him with what his nerves will not at present bear. Now such a place of 100*l.* a year has been lately vacated, by the death of a very worthy man, and a very good scholar, Mr. *Say*, to whom the Queen herself gave the place of *keeper of her own library*; and which I verily believe, were she now alive, she would not have denied me for my son *George*. I have indeed been informed that this place has been suppressed, since Mr. *Say*'s death, without any direct intention of filling it up again; yet do I humbly hope, the foregoing circumstances considered, that 'tis not too late to apply for its being restored and given to my son: Which is what I earnestly beg of you, and all my other friends to whom copies of this letter are sent, to endeavour at this time. I am,

S I R,

Your Old Friend and

Humble Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B.

N. B. Of this Letter were copies sent to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Lord Chancellor; the Duke of *Newcastle*; and Mr. *Poyntz*.

About the year 1746 I remember I once step'd into *Lincolns-Inn Hall*, and found the present Lord Chancellor with his court about him, hearing causes. One of those present knowing me, and wishing me well, said to me, Mr. *Whiston*, I hope you have no business here. I reply'd, No: But I added withal, That if the Lord Chancellor would determine causes by the laws of God, instead of the laws of men, I would come and hear him. Nor do I desire better chairmen for the *Society for promoting primitive Christianity*, which I am endeavouring to revive, than those worthy persons, who have been long used to moderate in the most eminent public societies of this nation: The house of Lords, the house of Commons, and the Royal Society, to be the chairmen or moderators there: Which I cannot but esteem of vastly more dignity and consequence than the other. And since I verily believe Providence is, in an extraordinary degree, now interposing in the affairs of the world, and beginning to set up the *Millennium*, or the kingdom of our Lord *Christ*, who is *King of kings and Lord of lords*; I cannot but believe such employment will be a greater honour to them, even in this world, than those they have at present, how honourable soever.

In the year 1747, on the second Sunday in *Advent*, a most remarkable sermon was preached at *Dublin*, by Mr. *Hort*, chaplain to the Archbishop of *Tuam*. Sold by Mr. *Reeve* at *Shakespear's Head*, near *Serjeant's-Inn, Fleet-street*. It is *On the glorious Kingdom of Christ upon Earth, or the Millennium*: Which I heartily recommend to the perusal of the inquisitive. Only a mistake of the preacher
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in the *Preface*, pag. 9. is to be corrected; where for want of consulting the original *Greek*, and by following our *English* version, he twice cites 2 *Cor.* xii. 4. as if *St. Paul* was caught up into Paradise, and thence concludes that Paradise is in *some region above us*; contrary to the plainest evidence, that when our Saviour was to be with the penitent thief, during his continuance in *Hades* or in *Paradise*, Luke xxiii. 43. he was to be in the *lower parts of the earth*, Ephes. iv. 9. See *Sacred History of the New Testament*, vol. v. pag. 296, 297.

Memorandum, That on *Tuesday, April 28, 1747*, *Samuel Collet*, my most intimate Christian friend, informed me, at *Great Marlow*, that his brother *Governor Collet*, assured him from *Sir Peter King's* own mouth, who was one of my council in the Court of Delegates, that when none of the Judges would agree to a sentence against me, in that cause of heresy, the rest of the court consisting of bishops and civilians, were resolving to proceed without them: Till *Sir Peter* told them, we should then proceed *against them*, and sue them to a *Premunire*, which such a sentence would incur: Upon which they desisted. This remarkable passage I had never before heard of; but being so very material, and so fully attested, I could not but add it in this place, and leave it to the reader's own reflections.

Memorandum, That on *Whitsunday morning, June 7, 1747*, I called to mind a very remarkable prophecy of *Isaiah's*, concerning the restoration of the *Jews*, lx. 9, 10. Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of *Tarshish* [the Mediterranean sea, *Jonah* i. 3.] first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, unto the name

of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy one of Israel; because he hath glorified thee. And the sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee, &c. Which clearly implies, that the *first return* of these *Jews* shall be by *ships*, passing along the *Mediterranean*, from *remote* islands: Which agrees to no nation so expressly, as to the *British* nation, joined probably by the States of *Holland*, their near ally and neighbouring maritime power. For as to some other nations, that have ships in the *Mediterranean* also (and cannot be gone to from *Judea*, but by sea, and so are included under the *isles* of the sea, as is well known) such as the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, they are so little disposed for affording the returning *Jews* such kind assistance, that they still support that vilest of courts, the tribunal of the inquisition; and persecute, nay, sometimes burn the *Jews* for their religion; and the former of them does it as near to a port of our own, at the isle of *Minorca*, and under the eye of our governors or admirals there also; as Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* informed me long ago, from his own eyes. Which permission of that horrid barbarity, seems to me utterly unworthy of a Christian and protestant Government.

I shall here add a melancholy, deeply melancholy reflection, on the wretched and profligate state of our nation at present, which most evidently forebodes some such *great and amazing Judgments*, as I declared in my letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Jan. 23, 1747-8, already set down, pag. 407. *I did fully and suddenly expect upon the most authentic evidence* [of scripture prophecies.] I say, as a specimen only of our wickedness, such as is noted in that seasonable and excellent sermon preached at court, *December 11, 1748*, by Dr. *Cobden*, with relation to the horrid
guilt

guilt of fornication and adultery, and even worse crimes of that nature; which as he truly affirms, are risen, perhaps, to a greater height, and spread to a wider extent than was ever known in former ages. Inſomuch that the two ſexes ſeem to vie with each other, which ſhall be moſt forward in diſregarding all rules of decency, and violating the ſanctions of the marriage contract. It would not become me, ſays he, to mention ſome of thoſe monſtrous and unnatural obſcenities, with which our land hath been ſtained. They would be offensive indeed to the ears even of a modeſt hearer.—If we conſider fornication with the unprejudiced eye of reaſon, before the paſſions have corrupted the judgment, I am perſuaded there are few ſins which people condemn more in their own breſts; which they commit at firſt with more reluctance, and recoilings of conſcience, and which upon cool reflection fills them with more horror and keener cenſures of their own conduct.—’Tis well if the female offender does not endeavour to ſcreen herſelf from cenſure, by the commiſſion of a more dreadful ſin, in the murder of a ſpurious infant; and diſcard the bowels of a mother, to avoid the ſcandal of being known to be one.—Conſidering how many ſeducers, eſpecially in this corrupted city, lie in wait to entice women from the paths of peace and virtue, they cannot be ſecured againſt them by too watchful an education; nor can we be too earneſt in our cautions that they would eſcape as *Lot* did out of *Sodom* for their life.—But to endeavour to alienate the affections of a woman from her huſband, is an injuſtice, complicated with the fouleſt baſeneſs, and attended with the moſt aggravated ingredients of cruelty: An injuſtice for which no recompence can poſſibly be made.—’Tis a ſin ſo abominable in its own nature, and ſo tragical in its conſequences, that there

is no thinking of it without horror.—Whole nations have felt the dismal effects of it. And would it not become us, in order to prevent our ruin, to enquire whether the judgments we of this nation have lately suffered, have not, in some measure, been owing to the encrease of the sins of uncleanness, together with those of every other kind among us? Whether the contagious distemper, still raging among one part of the brute creation, appointed for our food, be not an awakening call on us to a general repentance? without which we have too much reason to expect that God will be *avenged on such a nation as this*.—— It highly imports us therefore to fly all opportunities and temptations to immodesty.—To avoid all filthy communication, and the reading such books as are filled with stories of infamous gallantry, and to abstain from such dramatic entertainments as are an offence to good manners, and enflame the impurer passions: But more especially to fly from those fashionable assemblies, which seem calculated for no other end but to promote the purposes of lewdness: Assemblies so very low and ridiculous, that they are not more a snare to virtue than a reproach to common sense.

As to myself, I confess the sense of guilt seems to me so very terrible, and the fears of the fatal consequence of wickedness appears to me so ghastly and affrighting, that I cannot imagine how such as live in adultery, or the like flagrant vices can sleep a single night in peace, while they cannot but know that they may be in another world before morning.

But before I conclude, I must give some account of Dr. Collet's very serious and seasonable Address to the *Jews*: Or, a Treatise of their future Restoration. Printed for G. Freer, at the Bible in Bell-yard, near Temple-bar, 1747. This book,

book, tho' containing, I think, many mistakes, which want to be corrected, does yet give a particular and well attested account of the goodness of the country of *Judea*, and of the *Jews* future happy condition there, upon their restoration, when the Messiah will establish his kingdom at *Jerusalem*, and bring in the last glorious ages. He also therein, pag. 53, gives us an accurate plan of the city and suburbs of *Jerusalem* when it is rebuilt; with the Priests and Levites, and Princes portions, according to *Ezekiel* xlv, xlv. wherein, I confess, he has corrected an error that I and others had run into, as if the temple was to be built in the midst of the city itself; whereas he justly, I think, determines it will be very near, but not within the city, either on the north or south side. And if the author expected the restoration of the *Jews* fifteen years too soon, it was by following our present copies of *Daniel*, in the date of the famous 2300 days or years, viii. 1, 14. which I had discovered twenty-five years ago to be a gross mistake, I mean, of the 3d of *Belsazzar*, instead of the 1st of *Darius* the *Mede*. See my *Literal Accomplishment of Prophecies*, pag. 106, 107, 108. Which address therefore I cannot but heartily recommend to the reader's careful consideration at this time.

I could easily add a great many other passages in the course of my long life; but that I may not render this account too large, and of too great a price, I forbear. Only I desire my reader to observe that I have said very little of the *Royal Family*, for peculiar reasons.

To conclude the whole: If it shall appear at length to any number of Christian people, as I verily believe it will, that I have been enabled to direct them in a great number of points of the

greatest importance to the *good and the right way*; 1 Sam. xii. 23. to shew them those *old paths* of Christianity, which when they shall walk in, they shall *find rest unto their souls*; Jer. vi. 16. I shall earnestly beg this one favour at their hands, that they will not be so hasty and so weak, as to take from me any *tares with the wheat*; that they will not rashly follow me in any *errors*, because I may have been so happy as to lead them into many momentous *Truths*. This has been the great misfortune of several *good Men* hitherto; of several that, for the very ignorant ages and places in which they lived, might be esteemed great men also: Such as *Wickliff, Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, &c.* who having been made happy instruments in the hand of God, for the correction of several gross errors, in doctrine and practice, which had long prevailed under Antichrist, their followers soon became such foolish admirers of them, as to adopt their *errors*, which were still not a few, together with their truths. Nor is there sometimes any other sure original foundation for several peculiarities among the *Wickliffists, Lutherans, Calvinists*, the churches of *England, Scotland, &c.* at this day, but that those their first reformers, in times and places of great ignorance, as already intimated, happened to entertain those peculiar opinions. 1 Cor. i. 12. 1 Clem. §. 47. *One said, not, I am of Paul, or I of Apollos, or I of Cephas*, the original apostles, or preachers of Christianity, in the first century; but, *I am of Wickliff, I am of Luther, I am of Calvin, I am of Cranmer, I am of Knox, &c.* in the fourteenth or sixteenth centuries. While yet they all knew that they ought to have imitated *Paul* himself, and every one with the same voice, have said, *I am of Christ* only. Now in order to prevent any such
great

great unhappiness in my own case, I have taken the pains by repeated perusals, to make a careful and entire review of my several writings, tho' they be very numerous hitherto; and to correct the principal, if not all the mistakes, which I have myself discovered in them, in the course of fifty-three years study; many of which are quoted and corrected in these *Memoirs*: That so, if possible, I may not be guilty of wilfully, or even negligently misleading honest Christians in any thing of consequence whatsoever. And I seriously insist upon it, that the same method of *Review* and *Correction*, of fresh *Examination* and *Emendation*, be ever followed by all good Christians. That Christ Jesus alone, the *author and finisher of our Faith*, Heb. xii. 2. with his holy apostles, and their companions, or immediate successors, be ever in their eyes in all their attempts for réformation, till the several mistakes of frail and mortal men being utterly rejected, Christianity, *true, pure, and primitive Christianity*, may at length be discovered and settled entirely, *upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner stone.*

N. B. I say nothing here about my own interlined bible; nor of my additions prepared for a new edition of *Grotius*, of the truth of the Christian religion or the like collection of ancient testimonies to the confirmation of the Bible and *Josephus*, mentioned in the first Index to my *Josephus*, because they were never brought to perfection; and can hardly be expected to be brought to perfection at this age by myself. If any other fit persons would undertake to perfect them, I would willingly communicate what I have done already to them.

And now I heartily bleſs the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has enabled me under a very valetudinary conſtitution of body, by his bleſſing on my ſtudies to go through ſuch labour and finiſh ſuch a number of books for the advantage of ſacred learning and true religion ; and yet not to have my ſtrength either of body and mind ſenſibly impaired at this age. And I heartily pray to his Divine Majeſty, that all I have done may tend to the glory of his great Name ; the good of his church and people, and the rendring up my account with joy in the day of the Lord Jeſus. That I may ſtill perſevere to *fight the good fight ; to finiſh my holy courſe ; and to keep the Faith ; that ſo at length may be laid up for me a Crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, may give me at the great day ;* and not to me only, but to all other good Chriſtians, *which love, and wait for his glorious appearing.* Amen.

I conclude the whole with that *ſolemn wiſh* of my own the *ſeventh* time, which I have already repeated *ſix* times before, to no purpoſe, and that in the ſame words, and with the ſame ſincerity as formerly. O that I might live to ſee that happy day here in *Great Britain*, when public authority, eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, ſhould depute a committee of learned, impartial, and pious men, with this commiſſion, that they diligently, freely, and honeſtly examine her preſent conſtitution in all its parts, and bring in an unbiaſs'd and unprejudiced account of her defects and aberrations, whether in doctrine, worſhip, or diſcipline of all ſorts, from the primitive ſtandard, in order to their effectual correction and reformation ! Then would our *Sion* be indeed *a praiſe in the earth ;* the darling and pattern of all other proteſtant churches, and ſo become the foundation and centre of their unity,

unity, love and peace, and thereby most effectually *hasten the coming of that glorious day of God*, 2 Pet. iii. 12. when, according to our Lord's most sure promise, and that of the Father also, *we look for new heavens and a new earth*; a new and better state of the church here on earth; *wherein righteousness will dwell*, ver. 13. till it end in the glorious *Millennium*, the kingdom of our Lord, advanced to its highest perfection, and spread over the face of the whole world, till the consummation of all things.

July 2, 1749.

WILL. WHISTON,



ADDENDA

ADDENDA & EMENDANDA,

To the Sacred History of the Old Testament.

PAG. 33. Line 18 add, *N. B.* This Rock is mentioned by the oldest travellers, as there when they travelled, as well as it is there now, as Dr. *Shaw* informed me. It is also too large to be brought thither by any mechanical contrivance, either then, or now known in the world; it being near a cube of 18 feet, or almost of 500 ton weight. It is also of that prodigious hardness, as almost intirely to defy the chissel; insomuch that Dr. *Shaw* believes the *Monks* there, to whom some have been willing to ascribe them, could not make one large and deep hole in it with a chissel in a hundred years. See my Note on *Josephus Antiq.* x. 11. 7. This rock, as the Doctor also informed me, lies at no more distance from the main rock or Mount *Horeb* itself, than eight or ten yards. Now the difficulty that appears upon comparing this smaller rock, with *Moses's* account, [See Dr. *Shaw*, pag. 350, 352.] is this, that it is separate from the main rock; while that which was smitten by *Moses*, seems to have been united to it, or a part of it, and not a separate rock as this is. Now this difficulty is taken away by the history of the prophet *Elijah*, 1 *Kings* xix. 7, &c. where he, after travelling in the strength of one double meal, forty days and forty nights, came to this *Horeb the Mount of God*;—and where *the Lord passed by, and a great*
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and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord:—and after the wind an earthquake. Now it seems to me highly probable, that at this very wind and earthquake, this lesser rock was severed from the greater, as it appears to have been some time or other, and thence it is that it lies no farther from it. Nor is it any wonder that those that see it, as the Doctor says, are so greatly affected at the sight of it, as of an illustrious and undeniable testimony of the truth, of so very ancient and wonderful a miracle, related in the *Pentateuch*, at this day.

To the *Sacred History of the New Testament*, pag. 178. line 34. add,

N. B. What Paul says to the *Jewish* converts in his epistle to the *Romans*, about original sin; about the prevalency of that original sin or corruption in himself, at least while he was unregenerate; and about election and reprobation, in his fifth, seventh, and ninth chapters, seem to have been no part of Christ's revelation to him; but rather certain reasonings of his own, accommodated to the weak *Roman Jews*, at that time only. My reasons follow:

(1.) Paul himself confesses, 1 Cor. ix. 20, 22. that, *To the Jews, he became as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews: To them that are under the law, as under the law, that he might gain them that are under the law, and that directly. To the weak he became as weak, that he might gain the weak.* These testimonies of his own give us the greatest reason to expect such condescension and accommodation sometimes in his writings to the *Jews* as these before us; and which we meet with chiefly in him, and his companion *Barnabas*, and that with relation to *Jews*, and them only. Nor if we compare Paul's admirable and most rational speech to the learned

learned *Athenian* philosophers, *Acts* xvii. 22—31, with these strange and weak reasonings, to weak *Jews* at *Rome*, in these chapters before us, shall we be disposed to believe otherwise of their author, than of a very great and wise teacher, treating these very different people, in a very different manner; and accommodating himself to their different capacities and notions; but still for their own edification and salvation.

(2.) *Paul* might do this the rather, because he never appears to have designed such occasional epistles as this to the *Romans* for systems, or standards of Christianity to the churches; which indeed had been long before settled upon surer foundations, and fuller instructions; as they stand in the only authentic system of Christianity, the *Apostolical Constitutions*: How weakly soever the later ages have laid them in great measure aside, and drawn most of their darling opinions from their own interpretation of *Paul's* epistles, and principally of this his very obscure epistle to the *Romans*.

(3.) The original compleat catalogues of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; near to which such as these have been long supposed to be, I mean those delivered to the twelve Apostles by our Saviour himself, in the forty days after his resurrection, in the *Catholic Didascaly* of the sixth, and contained also in the Baptismal Creed of the seventh book of those *Constitutions*; while *Paul* himself informs us, that what he received from Christ afterward in all things agreed with them, *Gal.* ii. 1—9, have not a syllable of these notions, but rather the contrary; I mean they contain the rational doctrines of the freedom of human actions; and of God's dealing with men according to their works only, and not according to election and reprobation.

(4.) *Paul*

(4.) *Paul* himself, in all the rest of his epistles, thirteen in number, seems to have no such opinions; but still to deliver very different doctrines; as the freedom of human actions, and of God's dealing with men according to their works only, without regard to election and reprobation, as is very evident on their perusal. So that there must have been some particular occasion for these particular reasonings in this epistle to the *Romans*, which had no place in his other epistles.

(5.) *Paul* ever disclaims all authority in himself, as well as in the other Apostles, for delivering Christ's religion any otherwise than they received it from Christ himself; which authority he does not in the least pretend to in any of these chapters. He blames the *Corinthians* for following either *himself*, or *Apollos*, or *Cephas*, i. e. *Peter*, in any such separate manner; and assures them they ought to follow Christ only, 1 Cor. i. 12, &c. and iii. 4, 5. He also, more distinctly than any of the rest, observes what he had from Christ, and what were his own opinions or directions, 1 Cor. vii. 10, 12, 25, 40. The former of which he insists on as intirely obligatory to every Christian; but the latter as not so.

(6.) None of *Paul's* companions, *Luke* or *Timothy*, or *Barnabas*, or *Clement*, or *Hermas*, remains of every one of which are still extant, have any doctrines of this nature, but rather the contrary every where; as is obvious on their perusal also.

(7.) *Peter* himself, in the *Recognitions of Clement* I. 17. II. 33, 34. (a work of the first century. See *Sacred History of the New Testament*, pag. 373.) supposes that he might be sometimes overcome in disputation with *Simon Magus*, yet still without any impeachment of the truth of Christ's religion, of which he was a preacher.

And

And that the Apostles themselves had not the least authority to add to, or alter that religion; but were only to deliver what they received from Christ himself, uncorrupted and unaltered to all the churches. (He indeed seems to have known of no other *Calling and Election*, than might be *made sure* by mens own diligence, I. 10.

(8.) The same *Peter* gives us a particular caution, 2 *Pet.* iii. 16. about *some things hard to be understood*, in *Paul's* Epistles, even in the apostolical age itself; and which *the learned and unstable wrested, as they did the other Scriptures, to their own destruction*. Possibly *Peter* might have these chapters in his eye, among others; and might include the errors thence arisen, when, in the verse following, he bids good Christians *beware lest they also being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from their own stedfastness*. Which caution *Augustin*, and *Calvin*, and their followers, especially the synod of *Dort*, seem to have quite disregarded, to the unspeakable mischief of the church of Christ. So far however seems to me undeniable, that all *Paul's* companions, nay all the companions of the other Apostles, with the other Apostles themselves, nay indeed almost all catholic Christians, till the days of *Augustin*, either entirely understood *Paul*, as not meaning what they think they find in these chapters, or else they had no regard to what he there said about such abstruse matters at all; but always went upon the plain principles of common sense, natural religion, and their original Christianity; while yet these *Calvinists* still think the like *Jewish* reasonings in *Barnabas*, *Paul's* own companion, of almost no authority at all: Which yet is no other than a great degree of prejudice and partiality.

But if, after all, any think that this my opinion takes away the strict *Inspiration* of *Paul's* Epistles, which they suppose of dangerous consequence to Christianity, I confess it does imply, that under what degree of *Divine Conduct*, or *Wisdom* soever, *Paul* wrote his Epistles, as the *Constitutions*, II. 57. and *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* iii. 15. do affirm, yet is that degree to be esteemed inferior to what ought to be properly called *Inspiration*; such as the prophets were under in the reception of their prophecies; which proper *Inspiration* I take to be here groundless, and never pretended to by any writers of the *New Testament*, excepting the prophetic parts of *Hermas*, in his admirable visions; and the prophetic parts of *St. John*, in his no less admirable *Revelation*. See *Sacred History of the New Testament*, pag. 122, 123.



ADDENDA to these MEMOIRS.

N. B. In the beginning of the year 1716, Mr. *Wilson*, Archdeacon of *Nottingham*, about 90 years of age, published a small pamphlet, entitled, *The Wonders of the Year 1716*. It was taken almost entirely out of the first imperfect edition of my *Essay on the Revelation of St. John*, without once citing me, or that Essay. The second edition was also printed at *Nottingham* towards the end of the same year 1716, and dedicated to Archdeacon *Marsden* his successor. What corrections ought to be made in this extract will easily be learned from the vastly more correct second edition of that Essay itself, printed A. D. 1744.



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N. B. I desire the Reader to take notice, that the very learned *Gerard John Vossius*, in his three accurate Dissertations *De Tribus Symbolis*, or, *Of the Three Creeds*; that called *the Apostles Creed*, that called *the Athanasian Creed*, and that called *the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed*, with the *Filioque*, has proved them to be all falsely so called. That the first was only the Creed of the *Roman Church*, about *A. D. 400*. That the second was a Forgery about 400 Years after *Athanasius* had been dead, or about *A. D. 767*, and this in the West and in *Latin* only, and did not obtain in the *Greek Church* till above 400 Years afterward, or about *A. D. 1200*; and that the third had the term *Filioque* first inserted into it about the time when the *Athanasian Creed* was forged, and not sooner, or about *A. D. 767*.



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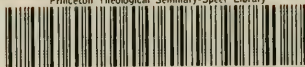
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